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The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALIAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

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ACADIA: 1612-1614

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PREFACE TO VOL. II

Following is a synopsis of the documents contained in the present volume:

IX. The indefatigable Biard presents, herein, a graphic recital of his work among the Acadian savages, and particularly his journeys into the wilderness. His report of a trip with a party of Port Royalists to French trading posts on the St. Croix and St. John rivers, to an Etchemin town probably on the site of the present Castine, Me., and to an English fishing station on the Kennebec, is full of interest.

X. Herein, Biard sends to the general of his order a full report concerning : (1) New France, its physical characteristics, and its aborigines; (2) the circumstances attending the opening of the Jesuit mission in Acadia; (3) Fléché's work previous to the coming of the Jesuits; (4) visits to savage tribes by Massé and himself, with descriptions of conversions and baptisms, and a statement of the conditions and prospects of spiritual work among the aborigines.

XI. Lescarbot's *Relation Dernière* gives an account of Poutrincourt's voyage to New France, in 1610; of the conversion and baptism of the savage chief, Membertou, and others, by the priest, Fléché; of Biencourt's return to France; and of the experiences of Poutrincourt at Port Royal. The writer praises Poutrincourt for his exertions in Canada in behalf of

both religion and civilization ; and urges that he should be aided in his colonial enterprise, as a necessary basis for religious work in this portion of the New World. He gives a list of the sponsors of the baptized Indians, who included many of the French nobility and clergy. The life at Port Royal is pictured in some detail; its labors and privations are dwelt upon; and the customs of the natives described. Lescarbot does not fail, although cautiously, to exhibit his dislike of the Jesuits, and endeavors to show that their coming to Port Royal involved delay and expense to the colonial enterprise, thereby injuring Poutrincourt. Our author's closing chapter devoutly catalogues the "Effects of God's Grace in New France;" he describes how Providence cared for the colonists in their distress, saved them from shipwreck, kindly disposed the savages toward them and the Christian religion, and returned to the Frenchmen their ship, in time to prevent starvation. The rescue of Aubry is also mentioned.

XII. The *Relatio Rerum Gestarum (1613 & 1614)* opens with a description of New France, its geography, its climate, its peoples and their customs. The experience of the Jesuit fathers at Port Royal is related at length, from their own point of view. A description is given of the settlement of St. Sauveur, on Mount Desert Island, and its destruction by the Virginian, Argall. Then follows an account of the life of the Jesuit prisoners, in Virginia and England. The conclusion is reached that, despite these drawbacks, the Jesuit mission in Canada has made a hopeful beginning.

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS., September, 1896.

IX

LETTRE DU P. BIARD

au R. P. Provincial à Paris
PORT ROYAL, Janvier 31, 1612

SOURCE : Reprinted from Carayon's Première Mission des
Jésuites au Canada, pp. 44-76.

[44] Lettre du P. Pierre Biard au R. P. Provincial à Paris.

(Copie sur l'autographe conservé dans les archives du
Jésus, à Rome.)

PORT-ROYAL, 31 janvier 1612.

MON REVEREND PERE,
Pax Christi.

S'il nous failloit entrer en compte devant Dieu et Vostre Reverence du geré et negocié par nous en ceste nouvelle acquisition du Fils de Dieu, ceste nouvelle France et Chrestienté, depuis nostre arrivée jusques à ce commencement de nouvel an, je ne double point certes, qu'en la sommation et calcul final, la perte ne surmontast les profits; le despensé follement en offendant, le bien et sagement ménagé en obeyssant, et le receu des talents, graces et tolerances divines, le mis et employé au royal et amiable service de nostre grand et autant bening Createur. Neantmoins, d'autant que (comme je croy) nos ruines n'édifiroyent personne, et nos rentes n'establiroyent aucun, il vaudroit mieux que pour le malacquitté, nous le plorions à part; [45] pour le receu, nous imitions le metayer d'iniquité loué par Nostre Seigneur en l'Evangile, sçavoir est que, faisant part à autruy des biens de nostre Maistre, nous nous en faisions des amis, et que communiquant à plusieurs ce qui est d'édification en ces premiers fondemens de Chrestienté, nous obtenions plusieurs intercesseurs envers Dieu, et fauteurs de cet œuvre. Mesme que ce faisant, nous ne defrauderons en rien la dette, ainsy

[44] Letter from Father Pierre Biard to the Reverend Father Provincial, at Paris.

(Copied from the autograph preserved in the archives of Jesus, at Rome.)

PORT ROVAL, January 31, 1612.

M^Y REVEREND FATHER,

The peace of Christ be with you.

Were we compelled to give an account before God and Your Reverence of our administration and our transactions in this newly acquired kingdom of the Son of God, this new France and new Christendom, from the time of our arrival up to the beginning of this new year, I certainly do not doubt that, in the aggregate and final summing up, the loss would exceed the profits; the foolish cost of transgression, the goodness and wisdom of obedience; and the reception of divine talents, graces, and indulgence would exceed their outlay and use in the royal and agreeable service of our great and so benign Creator. Nevertheless, inasmuch as (I believe) no one would be edified by our losses, or greatly benefited by our gains, it is better that we mourn our losses apart; [45] as to our receipts, we shall be like the unjust steward commended by Our Lord in the Gospels, namely, by sharing our Master's goods with others we shall make them our friends; and in communicating to many what is edifying in these early foundations of Christianity, we shall obtain intercessors with God and supporters of this work. Yet in doing this we shall in no wise diminish the debt, as did the

que fit le Censier inique, baillant à plusieurs le bien de Nostre Maistre avec profit, et ^{peut-estre} acquittrons par ceste œconomie une partie des redevances ^{et} de leur surcroy. Ainsy soit-il.

Aujourd'huy, 22 Ianvier, 1612, neuf [huict] mois sont passez dés notre arrivée en ceste nouvelle France. Peu après nostre arrivée, i'escrivy l'estat auquel nous avons retrouvé ceste Eglise et Colonie naissante. Voicy ce qui s'en est ensuivy.

Monsieur de Potrincourt s'en allant en France le mois de Iuin dernier, laissa icy son fils Monsieur de Biencourt, ieune seigneur de grande vertu et fort recommandable, avec environ 18 siens domestiques, et nous deux prestres de la Compagnie. Or la tasche et travail de nous deux prestres, selon nostre vocation, a esté, et icy dans la maison et habitation en residant, et dehors en voyageant. Commençons, comme l'on dict, de chez nous, de [46] la maison et habitation; puis nous sortirons dehors.

Icy donc nos exercices sont: dire messe tous les jours, la chanter solemnellement les dimanches et festes, avec les Vespres, et souvent la procession; faire prières publiques matin et soir; exhorter, consoler, donner les sacremens, ensevelir les morts; enfin faire les offices de Curé, puisque autres prestres n'y a en ces quartiers que nous. Et de vray, bon besoing seroit que fussions meilleurs ouvriers de Nostre Seigneur; d'autant que gens de marine, tels que sont quasi nos paroissiens, sont assez d'ordinaire totalement insensibles au sentiment de leur ame, n'ayans marque de religion sinon leurs juremens et reniemens, ny cognissance de Dieu sinon autant qu'en apporte la pratique connue de France, offusquée du libertinage et des objections et bouffonneries

wicked Steward, giving out Our Master's goods with profit; but we shall, perhaps, by this prudence acquit ourselves of a part of the dues and interests. So be it.

To-day, January 22nd, 1612, eight¹ months have passed since our arrival in this new France. Soon after that, I wrote you in regard to the condition in which we found this infant Church and Colony. Here is what followed:

When Monsieur de Potrincourt went to France last June he left his son here, Monsieur de Biencourt, a young man of great integrity and of very estimable qualities, with about eighteen of his servants and us two priests of the Society. Now our duties and offices, in accordance with our calling as priests, have been performed while residing here at the house and settlement, and by making journeys abroad. Let us begin, as they say, at home, that is, at [46] the residence and settlement; then we shall go outside.

Here then are our occupations: to say mass every day, and to solemnly sing it sundays and holidays, together with Vespers, and frequently the procession; to offer public prayers morning and evening; to exhort, console, administer the sacraments, bury the dead; in short, to perform the offices of the Curate, since there are no other priests in these quarters. And in truth it would be much better if we were more earnest workers here for Our Lord, since sailors, who form the greater part of our parishioners are ordinarily quite deficient in any spiritual feeling, having no sign of religion except in their oaths and blasphemies, nor any knowledge of God beyond the simplest conceptions which they bring with them from France, clouded with licentiousness and

mesdisantes des heretiques. D'où l'on peut aussy veoir, quelle esperance il y a de planter une belle chrestienté par tels evangelistes. La première chose que ces pauvres Sauvages apprennent, ce sont les juremens, parolles sales et injures; et orriés souvent les Sauvagesses (lesquelles autrement sont fort crainitives et pudiques), mais vous les orriés souvent charger nos gens de grosses pourries et eshontées opprobres, en langage françois; non qu'elles en sachent la signification, ains seulement parce qu'elles voyent qu'en telles parolles est leur [47] commun rire et ordinaire passetemps. Et quel moyen de remedier à cecy en des hommes qui mesprennent (malparlent) avec (d'autant) plus d'abandon qu'ils mesprisent avec audace.

A ces exercices chrestiens que nous faisons icy à l'habitation, assistent aucune fois les Sauvages, quand aucun y en a dans le port. Je dis, aucune fois, d'autant qu'ils n'y sont gueres stylés, non plus les baptisés que les payens, ne sçachant gueres davantage les uns que les autres faute d'instruction. Telle fut la cause pourquoi nous resolusmes dés nostre arrivée de ne point baptiser aucun adulte, sans que prealablement il ne fust bien catechisé. Or catechiser ne pouvons-nous avant que sçavoir le langage.

De vray, Monsieur de Biancourt, qui entend le sauvage le mieux de tous ceux qui sont icy, a pris d'un grand zele, et prend chaque jour beaucoup de peine à nous servir de truchement. Mais, ne sçay comment, aussi tost qu'on vient à traitter de Dieu, il se sent le mesme que Moyse, l'esprit estonné, le gosier tary, et la langue nouée. La cause en est d'autant que ces sauvages n'ont point de religion formée, point de ma-

the cavilings and revilings of heretics. Hence it can be seen what hope there is of establishing a flourishing christian church by such evangelists. The first things the poor Savages learn are oaths and vile and insulting words; and you will often hear the women Savages (who otherwise are very timid and modest), hurl vulgar, vile, and shameless epithets at our people, in the French language; not that they know the meaning of them, but only because they see that when such words are used there is [47] generally a great deal of laughter and amusement. And what remedy can there be for this evil in men whose abandonment to evil-speaking (or cursing) is as great as or greater than their insolence in showing their contempt?

At these christian services which we conduct here at the settlement, the Savages are occasionally present, when some of them happen to be at the port. I say, occasionally, inasmuch as they are but little trained in the principles of the faith — those who have been baptized, no more than the heathen; the former, from lack of instruction, knowing but little more than the latter. This was why we resolved, at the time of our arrival, not to baptize any adults unless they were previously well catechized. Now in order to catechize we must first know the language.

It is true that Monsieur de Biancourt, who understands the savage tongue better than any one else here, is filled with earnest zeal, and every day takes a great deal of trouble to serve as our interpreter. But, somehow, as soon as we begin to talk about God he feels as Moses did,— his mind is bewildered, his throat dry, his tongue tied. The reason for this is that, as the savages have no definite religion,

gistrature ou police, point d'arts ou libéraux ou mécaniques, point de commerce ou vie civile; et par consequent les mots leur défaillent [48] des choses qu'ils n'ont jamais vues ou apprehendées.

D'avantage, comme rudes et incultes qu'ils sont, ils ont toutes leurs conceptions attachées aux sens et à la matière; rien d'abstrait, interne, spirituel ou distinct. *Bon, fort, rouge, noir, grand, dur*, ils le vous diront en leur patois; *bonté, force, rougeur, noircissure*, ils ne savent que c'est. Et pour toutes les vertus que vous leur sauriez dire, *sagesse, fidélité, justice, miséricorde, reconnaissance, pieté*, et autres, tout chez eux tout n'est sinon *l'heureux, tendre amour, bon cœur*. Semblablement un loup, un renard, un esquieu, un orignac, ils les vous nommeront, et ainsi chaque espèce de celle qu'ils ont, les quelles, hors les chiens, sont toutes sauvages; mais une beste, un animal, un corps, une substance, et ainsi les semblables universels et genres, cela est par trop docte pour eux.

Ajoutez à ceci, s'il vous plaît, la grande difficulté qu'il y a de tirer d'eux les mots mesmes qu'ils ont. Car, comme *ny eux ne savent nostre langage, ny nous le leur, sinon fort peu*, touchant le commerce et vie commune, il nous faut faire mille gesticulations et chimerées pour leur exprimer nos conceptions, et ainsi tirer d'eux quelques noms des choses qui ne se peuvent montrer avec [49] le sens. Par exemple, penser, oublier, se ressouvenir, douter: pour savoir ces quatre mots, il vous faudra donner beau rire à nos messieurs au moins toute une après-disner, en faisant le basteleur; et encore, après tout cela, vous trouverez-vous trompé et mocqué de nouveau, ayant eu, comme l'on dit, le mortier pour un niveau, et le

magistracy or government, liberal or mechanical arts, commercial or civil life, they have consequently no words to describe [48] things which they have never seen or even conceived.

Furthermore, rude and untutored as they are, all their conceptions are limited to sensible and material things; there is nothing abstract, internal, spiritual, or distinct. *Good, strong, red, black, large, hard*, they will repeat to you in their jargon; *goodness, strength, redness, blackness*—they do not know what they are. And as to all the virtues you may enumerate to them, *wisdom, fidelity, justice, mercy, gratitude, piety*, and others, these are not found among them at all except as expressed in the words *happy, tender love, good heart*. Likewise they will name to you a wolf, a fox, a squirrel, a moose, and so on to every kind of animal they have, all of which are wild, except the dog; but as to words expressing universal and generic ideas, such as beast, animal, body, substance, and the like, these are altogether too learned for them.

Add to this, if you please, the great difficulty of obtaining from them even the words that they have. For, as they neither know our language nor we theirs, except a very little which pertains to daily and commercial life, we are compelled to make a thousand gesticulations and signs to express to them our ideas, and thus to draw from them the names of some of the things which cannot be pointed out [49] to them. For example, to think, to forget, to remember, to doubt; to know these four words, you will be obliged to amuse our gentlemen for a whole afternoon at least by playing the clown; and then, after all that, you will find yourself deceived, and mocked anew, having received, as the saying is, the mortar

marteau pour la truelle. Enfin nous en sommes là encore, après plusieurs enquêtes et travaux, à disputer s'ils ont aucune parole qui corresponde droicte-ment à ce mot *Credo*, je croy. Estimez un peu que c'est du reste du symbole et fondemens chrestiens.

Or tout ce discours de la difficulté du langage, ne me servira pas seulement pour monstrar en quels efforts et ahan de langue nous sommes, ains aussy pour faire veoir à nos Europeans leur felicité mesme civile: car il est assuré qu'encore mesme enhanée¹, cette miserable nation demeure touiuors en une per-petuelle enfance de langue et de raison. Je dis, de langue et de raison, parce qu'il est évident que là où la parolle, messagere et despensière de l'esprit et discours, reste totalement rude, pauvre at confuse, il est impossible que l'esprit et raison soient beaucoup polis, abondans et en ordre. Cependant ces pauvres chetifs et enfants s'estiment [50] plus que tous les hommes de la terre, et pour rien du monde ne vou-droyent quitter leur enfance et chetiveté. Mais ce n'est pas de merveille; car, comme j'ay dict, ils sont enfans.

Ne pouvans doncques pour encores baptiser les adultes, comme nous avons dict, nous restent les en-fans, à qui appartient le royaume des cieux; ainsy nous les baptisons de la volonté des parens et soubs la caution des parrains. Et en cette façon, en avons jà baptisé quatre, Dieu mercy. Les adultes qui sont en extreme nécessité, nous les instruissons autant que Dieu nous en donne le moyen; et la pratique nous a faict veoir, que lors Dieu supplée interieurement le défaut de son outil externe. Ainsy, une vieille femme dangereusement malade, et une jeune fille,

¹ Vieux mot employé pour signifier extenué de travaux.

for the level, and the hammer for the trowel. In short we are still disputing, after a great deal of research and labor, whether they have any word to correspond directly to the word *Credo*, I believe. Judge for yourself the difficulty surrounding the remainder of the symbols and fundamental truths of christianity.

Now all this talk about the difficulty of the language will not only serve to show how laborious is our task in learning it, but also will make our Europeans appreciate their own blessings, even in civil affairs; for it is certain that these miserable people, continually weakened by hardships [*enhançé*],* will always remain in a perpetual infancy as to language and reason. I say language and reason, because it is evident that where words, the messengers and dispensers of thought and speech, remain totally rude, poor and confused, it is impossible that the mind and reason be greatly refined, rich, and disciplined. However, these poor weaklings and children consider themselves [50] superior to all other men, and they would not for the world give up their childishness and wretchedness. And this is not to be wondered at, for, as I have said, they are children.

Since we cannot yet baptize the adults, as we have said, there remain for us the children, to whom the kingdom of heaven belongs; these we baptize with the consent of their parents and the pledge of the god-parents. And under these conditions we have already, thank God, baptized four of them. We instruct the adults who are in danger of death, as far as God gives us the means to do so; and experience has shown us that then God inwardly supplements the defects of his exterior instruments.

* An old word used to signify weakened by hard labor.—[Carayon.]

ont esté receues au nombre des enfans de Dieu. La vieille est encore debout; la fille est allée à Dieu.

Je vis cette fille de 8 a 9 ans, toute transie et n'ayant plus que la peau et les os. Je la demanday à ses parens pour la baptiser. Ils me respondirent que si je la voulois, ils me la donnoyent tout à fait. Car aussy bien, elle et un chien mort, c'estoit tout un. Ainsy parloyent-ils, d'autant que c'est leur coustume d'abandonner entierement ceux qu'ils ont une fois entierement jugés incurables. Nous acceptasmes l'offre, affin qu'ils vissent la difference du [51] Christianisme et de leur impiété. Nous fismes conduire ce pauvre squelette en une cabane de l'habitation, la secourusmes et nourrismes à nostre possible, et l'ayant tolerablement instruite, la baptisasmes. Elle fut appellée Antoynette de Pons, en memoire et recognoissance de tant de benefices qu'avons receus et recevons de Madame la Marquise de Guercheville; et laditte Dame se peut resjouir que jà son nom est au ciel, car quelques jours après son baptesme, cette ame choysie s'envola en ce lieu de gloire.

Ce luy aussy fut nostre premier né, sur lequel nous avons pu dire ce que Ioseph prononça sur le sien, que Dieu nous avoit faict oublier tous nos travaux passés et la maison de nostre Père. Mais à propos de ce que les Sauvages abandonnent leurs malades, une autre occasion de semblablement exercer la charité chrestienne envers ces délaissés, a eu son issüe plus joyeuse, et profitable pour détromper ces nations. Cette occasion fut telle.

Le second fils du grand sagamo Membertou, de qui nous parlerons tantost, appelé *Actodin*, jà chrestien et marié, estoit tombé en une griefve maladie.

Thus, an old woman, dangerously ill, and a young girl have been added to the number of the children of God. The woman still lives, the girl has gone to Heaven.

I saw this girl, eight or nine years old, all benumbed and nothing but skin and bone. I asked the parents to give her to me to baptize. They answered that if I wished to have her they would give her up to me entirely. For to them she was no better than a dead dog. They spoke like this because they are accustomed to abandon altogether those whom they have once judged incurable. We accepted the offer, so that they might see the difference between [51] Christianity and their ungodliness. We had this poor skeleton brought into one of the cabins of the settlement, where we cared for and nourished her as well as we could, and when she had been fairly well instructed we baptized her. She was named Antoynette de Pons, in grateful remembrance of the many favors we have received and are receiving from Madame la Marquise de Guercheville, who may rejoice that already her name is in heaven, for a few days after baptism this chosen soul flew away to that glorious place.

This was also our firstborn, for whose sake we could say, as Joseph did about his, that God had made us forget all our past hardships and the homes of our Fathers. But in speaking of the Savages abandoning their sick, another similar occasion to exercise charity toward those who are deserted has had a more happy issue and one more useful in undeceiving these people. This occasion was as follows:

The second son of the grand sagamore Member-tou, of whom we shall speak by and by, named

Monsieur de Potrincourt, s'en allant en France, l'avoit visité, et, comme il est bon seigneur, l'avoit invité de se faire porter en l'habitation, pour y estre medicamenté. Je m'attendois à cela, qu'on [52] le nous apporteroit; mais on n'en faisoit rien. Ce voyant, pour ne laisser cette ame en danger, je m'y en allay de là à quelques jours (car il estoit à 5 lieuës de l'habitation). Mais je trouvay mon malade en un bel estat. On estoit sur le poinct de faire tabagie ou convive solemnel sur son dernier adieu. Trois ou quatre vastes chaudieres bouilloyent sur le feu. Il avoit sa belle robe soubs soy (car c'estoit en esté), et se preparoit à sa harangue funebre. La harangue devoit finir en l'adieu et comploration commune de tous. L'adieu et le deuil se clost par l'occision des chiens à ce que le mourant ait des avants-coureurs en l'autre monde. L'Occision des chiens est accostée de la tabagie et de ce qui suyt la tabagie, du chant et des danses. Après cela, il n'est plus loysible au malade de manger ou demander aucun secours, ains se doibt jà tenir pour un des manes ou citoyens de l'autre vie. Je trouvay donc mon hoste en tel estat.

I'invectivay contre cette façon de faire, plus de geste que de langue, car pour la langue, mes interpres ne disoient pas la dixiesme partie de ce que je voulois. Neantmoins le vieil Membertou, pere du malade, conceut assés l'affaire, et me promit qu'on s'arresteroit à tout ce que j'en dirois. Je luy dis donc que pour l'adieu et deuil moderé, et encores pour la tabagie, cela se pourroit tolerer; mais [53] que le carnage des chiens, et les chants et danses sur un trespassant, et beaucoup moins l'abandonnement d'iceluyl, ne me playsoyent point; que plus tost, selon

Actodin, already a christian, and married, fell dangerously ill. Monsieur de Potrincourt, as he was about to depart for France, had visited him; and being a kind-hearted gentleman, had asked him to let himself be taken to the settlement for treatment. I was expecting this suggestion [52] to be carried out; but they did nothing of the kind. When this became evident, not to leave this soul in danger, I went there after a few days (for it was five leagues from the settlement). But I found my patient in a fine state. They were just about to celebrate tabagie, or a solemn feast, over his last farewell. Three or four immense kettles were boiling over the fire. He had his beautiful robe under him (for it was summer), and was preparing for his funeral oration. The oration was to close with the usual adieus and lamentations of all present. The farewell and the mourning are finished by the slaughter of dogs, that the dying man may have forerunners in the other world. This slaughter is accompanied by the tabagie and what follows it—namely, the singing and dancing. After that it is no longer lawful for the sick man to eat or to ask any help, but he must already consider himself one of the “manes,” or citizens of the other world. Now it was in this state that I found my host.

I denounced this way of doing things, more by actions than by words; for, as to talking, my interpreters did not repeat the tenth part of what I wanted them to say. Nevertheless, old Membertou, father of the sick man, understood the affair well enough, and promised me that they would stop just where I wanted them to. Then I told him that the farewells and a moderate display of mourning, and even the tabagie, would be permitted, but [53] that

qu'ils avoyent promis à Monsieur de Potrincourt, ils l'envoyassent en l'habitation; qu'à l'ayde de Dieu, il pourroit bien encore guerir. Ils me donnerent parole d'ainsy faire le tout; ce neantmoins, le languissant ne nous fut apporté que deux jours après.

Il prenoit des symptomes si mortels, que souvent nous n'attendions sinon qu'il nous demeurast entre les mains. En effet un soir, sa femme et enfans l'abandonnerent entierement, et s'en allerent cabaner ailleurs, pensant que c'en estoit vuidé. Si pleut-il à Dieu tromper heureusement leur desespoir; car, de là à peu de jours, il fut plein de santé, et l'est encore aujourd'hui (à Dieu en soit la gloire); ce que M. Hébert, Parisien et maistre en Pharmacie assés cognu, qui solicitoit ledit malade, m'a souvent asseuré estre un vray miracle. De moi, je ne scay qu'en dire, d'autant que je ne veux affirmer ny le si ny le non en ce dont je n'ay évidence. Cela scay-je, que nous mismes sur le dit languissant un os des precieuses reliques du glorieux Sanct Laurens, archevesque de Dublin en Hibernie, que M. de la Place, digne abbé d'Eu, et Messieurs les Prieurs et Chapitre de laditte abbaye d'Eu nous donnerent de leur grace pour convoyer nostre voyage en ces quartiers. Nous [54] doncques mismes sur le malade de ces saintes reliques, faisant vœu pour luy, et depuis il emmeilleura.

Par cet exemple, Membertou, le pere du guery, comme j'ay dict cy devant, fut fort confirmé en la foy, et à cette cause sentant le mal dont depuis il est dececé, voulut aussy tost estre apporté icy; et quoy-que nostre cabane soit tant estroitte que trois personnes estant dedans, à peine s'y peuvent-elles remuer, neantmoins si demanda-t-il de grande confiance

the slaughter of the dogs, and the songs and dances over a dying person, and what was much worse, leaving him to die alone, displeased me very much; that it would be better, according to their promise to Monsieur de Potrincourt, to have him brought to the settlement, that, with the help of God, he might yet recover. They gave me their word that they would do all that I wished; nevertheless, the dying man was not brought until two days afterward.

His symptoms became so serious that often we expected nothing less than that he would die on our hands. In fact, one evening, his wife and children deserted him entirely and went to settle elsewhere, thinking it was all over with him. But it pleased God to prove their despair unfounded; for a few days afterwards he was in good health and is so today (to God be the glory); which M. Hébert, of Paris, a well-known master in Pharmacy, who attended the said patient, often assured me was a genuine miracle. For my part, I scarcely know what to say; inasmuch as I do not care either to affirm or deny a thing of which I have no proof. This I do know, that we put upon the sufferer a bone taken from the precious relics of the glorified Saint Lawrence, archbishop of Dublin in Ireland, which M. de la Place, the estimable abbé d'Eu, and the Priors and Canons of the said abbey d'Eu, kindly gave us for our protection during the voyage to these lands. So we [54] placed some of these holy relics upon the sick man, at the same time offering our vows for him, and then he improved.

Influenced by this example, Membertou, the father of the one who had recovered, as I have said before, was very strongly confirmed in the faith;

qu'il avoit en nous, d'estre logé dans l'un de nos deux licts; ce qu'il fut pour six jours. Mais après, sa femme, fille et brue estans venues, il cogneut bien de luy mesme qu'il falloit tramarcher; ce qu'il fit, s'excusant fort, et nous demandant pardon du continual travail qu'il nous avoit donné jour et nuict en son service. Certes le changement de lieu et traitemment ne lui allegea pas son mal. Par ainsy, le voyant sur son declin, je le confessay au mieux que je pus, et luy après (c'est tout leur testament) fit sa harangue. Or en sa harangue, entre autres choses il dict sa volonté estre d'avoir sepulture avec ses femmes et enfants, ez-anciens monumens de sa maison.

Ie me monstray fort mal content de cecy, craingnant que les Françoyts et Sauvages ne prinssent de la suspicion qu'il n'estoit mort gueres bon Chrestien. [55] Mais on m'opposa que telle promesse lui avoit esté faicte avant qu'il fut baptisé; et qu'autrement si on l'enterroit en nostre cimetière, ses enfans et amis ne nous viendroyent jamais plus veoir, puisque c'est la façon de cette nation d'abhorrer toute memoire de la mort et des morts.

Je disputay contre, et avec moy M. de Biancourt (car c'est quasi mon unique truchement), neantmoins en vain; le mourant demeuroit resolu. Le soir assez tard, nous luy donnasmes l'extreme onction, puisque autrement il y estoit assez préparé. Voyez l'efficace du sacrement: le lendemain matin, il mande M. de Biancourt et moy, et de nouveau il recommence sa harangue. Par icelle il declaroit avoir de soy mesme changé de volonté; qu'il entendoit d'estre inhumé avec nous, commandant à ses enfans de ne point pour

and because he was then feeling the approach of the malady from which he has since died, he wished to be brought here immediately; and although our cabin is so narrow that when three people are in it they can scarcely turn around, nevertheless, showing his implicit confidence in us, he asked to be placed in one of our two beds, where he remained for six days. But afterwards his wife, daughter, and daughter-in-law having come, he himself recognized the necessity of leaving, and did so with profuse excuses, asking our pardon for the continual trouble he had given us in waiting upon him day and night. Certainly the change of location and treatment did not improve him any. So then, seeing that his life was drawing to a close, I confessed him as well as I could; and after that he delivered his oration (this is their sole testament). Now, among other things in this speech, he said that he wished to be buried with his wife and children, and among the ancient tombs of his family.

I manifested great dissatisfaction with this, fearing that the French and Savages would suspect that he had not died a good Christian. [55] But I was assured that this promise had been made before he was baptized, and that otherwise, if he were buried in our cemetery, his children and his friends would never again come to see us, since it is the custom of this nation to shun all reminders of death and of the dead.

I opposed this, and M. de Biancourt, for he is almost my only interpreter, joined with me, but in vain; the dying man was obdurate. Rather late that evening we administered extreme unction to him, for otherwise he was sufficiently prepared for it. Behold now the efficacy of the sacrament; the next

cela fuyr le lieu comme infideles, ains d'autant plus le frequenter comme chrestiens, à celle fin d'y prier pour son ame et pleurer ses pechez. Il recommanda aussi la paix avec M. de Potrincourt et son fils; que de luy, il avait toujours aymé les Françoy, et avoit souvent empesché plusieurs conspirations contre eux. De là à peu d'heures il mourut entre mes mains fort chrestiennement.

C'a esté le plus grand, renommé et redouté sauvage qui ayt esté de memoire d'homme: de riche [56] taille, et plus hault et membru que n'est l'ordinaire des autres, barbu comme un françoy, estant ainsy que quasi pas un des autres n'a du poil au menton; discret et grave, ressentant bien son homme de commandement Dieu luy gravoit en l'ame une apprehension plus grande du Christianisme, que n'estoit ce qu'il en avoit pu ouyr, et m'a souvent dict en son sauvageois. "Apprend vistement nostre langue, car aussy tost que tu la sçauras et m'auras bien enseingné, je veux estre prescheur comme toy." Avant mesme sa conversion, il n'a jamais voulu avoir plus d'une femme vivante; ce qu'est esmerveillable, d'autant que les grands sagamos de ce païs entretiennent un nombreux serail, non plus pour luxure, que pour ambition, gloire et nécessité: pour ambition, à celle fin d'avoir plusieurs enfans, en quoy gist leur puissance; pour gloire et nécessité, d'autant qu'ils n'ont autres artisans, agens, serviteurs, pourvoyeurs ou esclaves que les femmes; elles soustienent tout le faix et fatigue de la vie.

C'a esté le premier de tous les Sauvages qui en ces régions aye receu le baptesme et l'extreme-onction, le premier et le dernier sacrement, et le premier qui,

morning he asks for M. de Biancourt and me, and again begins his harangue. In this he declares that he has, of his own free will, changed his mind; that he intends to be buried with us, commanding his children not, for that reason, to shun the place like unbelievers, but to frequent it all the more, like christians, to pray for his soul and to weep over his sins. He also recommended peace with M. de Potrincourt and his son; as for him, he had always loved the French, and had often prevented conspiracies against them. A few hours afterward he died a christian death in my arms.

This was the greatest, most renowned and most formidable savage within the memory of man; of splendid [56] physique, taller and larger-limbed than is usual among them; bearded like a Frenchman, although scarcely any of the others have hair upon the chin; grave and reserved; feeling a proper sense of dignity for his position as commander. God impressed upon his soul a greater idea of Christianity than he has been able to form from hearing about it, and he has often said to me in his savage tongue: "Learn our language quickly, for as soon as thou knowest it and hast taught me well I wish to become a preacher like thee." Even before his conversion he never cared to have more than one living wife, which is wonderful, as the great sagamores of this country maintain a numerous seraglio, no more through licentiousness than through ambition, glory and necessity; for ambition, to the end that they may have many children, wherein lies their power; for fame and necessity, since they have no other artisans, agents, servants, purveyors or slaves than the women; they bear all the burdens and toil of life.

de son mandement et ordonnance, aye été inhumé chrestiennement. Monsieur de Biancourt honora ses obsèques, imitant à son possible les [57] honneurs qu'on rend en France aux grands Capitaines et Seigneurs.

Or, à ce que l'on craigne les jugemens de Dieu, aussy bien que l'on ayme sa misericorde, je mettray icy la fin d'un françoy, en laquelle Dieu a montré sa justice, aussy bien qu'en celle de Membertou nous recognoissions sa grâce. Celuy-cy avoit souvent esvadé le danger d'estre noyé, et tout fraischement le beau jour de la Pentecoste dernière. Le bénéfice fut mal recogneuy. Pour n'en rien dire de plus, la veille de S. Pierre et S. Paul, comme le soir on fust entré en discours des perils de mer, et des vœux qu'on faict aux Saincts en semblables hazards, ce miserable se print à s'en rire et moquer impudemment, se gaudissant de ceux de la compagnie qu'on disoit en telles rencontre savoir esté religieu. Il eut tost son guerdon. Le lendemain matin, un coup de vent l'emporta tout seul dehors de la chaloupe dans les vagues, et jamais depuis n'est apparu.

Mais laissons l'eau et venons à la rive. Si la terre de cette nouvelle France avoit aucun sentiment, ainsy que les Poëtes feignent de leur deesse Tellus, sans doute elle eust eu un ressentiment bien nouveau de liesse cette année; car, Dieu mercy, ayans eu fort heureuses moissons de ce peu qui avoit esté labouré du recueilly nous avons faict des hosties, et nous les avons offertes à Dieu. Ce sont, comme nous [58] croyons, les premières hosties qui ayent esté faites du froment de ce terroir. Notre Seigneur par sa bonté les aye voulu recevoir en odeur de suavité, et, comme

He was the first of all the Savages in these parts to receive baptism and extreme unction, the first and the last sacraments; and the first one who, by his own command and decree, has received a christian burial. Monsieur de Biancourt honored his obsequies, imitating as far as possible the [57] honors which are shown to great Captains and Noblemen in France.

Now, that the judgments of God may be feared as much as his mercies are loved, I shall here record the death of a Frenchman, in which God has shown his justice as much as he has given us evidence of his mercy, in the death of Membertou. This man had often escaped drowning, and only recently upon the blessed day of last Pentecost. He showed but little gratitude for this favor. Not to make the story too long, the evening before St. Peter's and St. Paul's day, as they were discoursing upon the perils of the sea, and upon the vows made to the Saints in similar dangers, this wretch began impudently to laugh and to sneer, jeering at those of the company who were said to have been religious upon such occasions. He soon had his reward. The next morning a gust of wind carried him, and him only, out of the boat into the waves, and he was never seen again.

But let us leave the water and come on shore. If the ground of this new France had feeling, as the Poets pretend their goddess Tellus had, doubtless it would have experienced an altogether novel sensation of joy this year, for, thank God, having had very successful crops from the little that was tilled, we made from the harvest some hosts [wafers for consecration] and offered them to God. These are, as we [58] believe, the first hosts which have been made

dict le Psalmiste, *veuille donner benignité, puisque la terre luy a rendu son fruct.*

C'est assés demeuré à la maison; sortons un peu dehors, comme nous avons promis de faire, et racontons ce qui s'est passé par le pays.

J'ay faict deux voyages avec M. de Biancourt, l'un de quelques douze jours, l'autre d'un mois et demy, et avons rodé toute la coste dés Port-Royal jusques à Kinibéqui, ouest-sud ouest. Nous sommes entrez dans les grandes rivières de S. Iean, de Saincte Croix, de Pentegoet et du sus-nommé Kinibéqui; avons visité les Françoyls, qui ont hyverné icy cette année en deux parts, en la rivière S. Iean et en celle de Saincte-Croix: les Malouins en la riviere S. Iean, et le capitaine Plastrier à Saincte Croix.

Durant ces voyages, Dieu nous a sauvez de grands et bien éminents dangers, et souvent; mais quoy que nous les debvions tousjours retenir en la mémoire pour n'en estre ingratis, il n'est pas necessaire que nous les couchions tous sur le papier, de peur d'être ennuyeux. Je raconteray seulement ce qu'à mon avis on orroit plus volontiers.

Nous allions voir les Malouins, sçavoir est, le [59] Sieur du Pont le jeune, et le capitaine Merveilles, qui, comme nous avons dict, hyvernoyent en la rivière S. Jean, en une isle appellée Emenenic, avant contremont le fleuve quelques six lieues. Nous estions encore à une lieuë et demye de l'isle, qu'il estoit jà soir et la fin du crepuscule. Ià les estoilles commençoyent à se monstrer, quand voicy que vers le Nord soudainement une partie du ciel devint aussy rouge et sanguine qu'escarlate, et s'estendant peu à peu en piques et fuscaux, s'en alla droict reposer sur l'ha-

from the wheat of these lands. May Our Lord, in his goodness, have consented to receive them as fragrant offerings and in the words of the Psalmist, *may he give graciously, since the earth has yielded him its fruits.*

We have stayed at home long enough; let us go abroad a little, as we promised to do, and relate what has taken place in the country.

I made two journeys with M. de Biancourt, the one lasting about twelve days, the other a month and a half; and we have ranged the entire coast from Port Royal to Kinibéqui,² west southwest. We entered the great rivers St. John, Saincte Croix, Pentegoët,³ and the above-named Kinibéqui; we visited the French who have wintered there this year in two places, at the St. John river and at the river Saincte Croix; the Malouins at the former place, and captain Plastrier at the latter.⁴

During these journeys, God often delivered us from great and very conspicuous dangers; but, although we ought always to bear them in mind, that we may not be ungrateful, there is no need of setting them all down upon paper, lest we become wearisome. I shall relate only what, in my opinion, will be the most interesting.

We went to see the Malouins; namely, [59] Sieur du Pont, the younger, and captain Merveilles, who, as we have said, were wintering at St. John river, upon an island called Emenenic, some six leagues up the river. We were still one league and a half from the island when the twilight ended and night came on. The stars had already begun to appear, when suddenly, toward the Northward, a part of the heavens became blood-red: and this light spreading, little by lit-

bitation des Malouins. La rougeur estoit si esclatante, que toute la rivière s'en teingnoit et en reluysoit. Cette apparition dura demy quart d'heure, et aussy tost après la disparition, en recommença une autre de mesme forme, cours et consistance.

Il n'y eut celuy de nous qui ne jugeast tel metheore prodigieux. Pour nos Sauvages, ils s'escrierent aussy tost: *Gara gara enderquir Gara gara*; c'est-à-dire, nous aurons guerre; tels signales denoncent guerre. Neantmoins, et nostre abord cette soirée, et le lendemain matin nostre descente fut fort amiable et pacifique. Le jour, rien qu'amitié. Mais (malheur!) le soir venu, tout se vira, ne sçay comment, le dessus dessous; entre nos gens et ceux de S. Malo, confusion, brouillis, fureur, tintamarre. Ie ne doutte point qu'une mauditte bande de furieux et [60] sanguinaires esprits ne voltigeast toute cette nuit là, attendant à chaque heure et moment un horrible massacre de ce peu de Chrestiens qui estions là; mais la bonté de Dieu les brida, les malheureux. Il n'y eut aucun sang espandu, et le jour suivant, cette nocturne bourrasque finit en un beau et plaisant calme, les ombrages et fantosmes ténébreux s'estant esvanouis en serenité lumineuse.

De vray, la bonté et prudence de M. de Biancourt parust fort emmy ce fortunal de passions humaines. Mais aussy je recogneus assés que le feu et les armes estans une fois entre les mains de gens mal disciplinés, les maistres ont beaucoup à craindre et à souffrir de leurs propres. Ie ne sçay s'il y eust aucun qui fermast l'œil de toute cette nuit. Pour moy je fis prou de belles propositions et promesses à Nostre Seigneur, de ne jamais oublier ce sien benefice, s'il

tle, in vivid streaks and flashes, moved directly over the settlement of the Malouins and there stopped. The red glow was so brilliant that the whole river was tinged and made luminous by it. This apparition lasted some eight minutes, and as soon as it disappeared another came of the same form, direction and appearance.

There was not one of us who did not consider this meteoric display prophetic. As to the Savages, they immediately cried out, *Gara gara ender quir Gara gara*, meaning we shall have war, such signs announce war. Nevertheless, both our arrival that evening and our landing the next morning were very quiet and peaceful. During the day, nothing but friendliness. But (alas!) when evening came, I know not how, everything was turned topsy-turvy; confusion, discord, rage, uproar reigned between our people and those of St. Malo. I do not doubt that a cursed band of furious and [60] sanguinary spirits were hovering about all this night, expecting every hour and moment a horrible massacre of the few Christians who were there; but the goodness of God restrained the poor wretches. There was no bloodshed; and the next day, this nocturnal storm ended in a beautiful and delightful calm, the dark shadows and spectres giving way to a luminous peace.

In truth, M. de Biancourt's goodness and prudence seemed much shaken by this tempest of human passions. But I also saw very clearly that if fire and arms were once put into the hands of badly disciplined men, the masters have much to fear and suffer from their own servants. I do not know that there was one who closed his eyes during that night. For me, I made many fine propositions and promises to

plaisoit faire qu'aucun sang ne fust respandu. Ce qu'il nous donna de son infinie misericorde.

Il estoit trois heures après midy du jour suivant, que je n'avois pas eu encores loysir de sentir la faim, tant j'estoys empesché à aller et venir des uns aux autres. Enfin environ ce temps là, tout fut accoysé, Dieu mercy.

Certes le capitaine Merveilles et ses gens montrerent leur piété non vulgaire. Car nonobstant cet heurt et rencontre si troublant, le deuxiesme jour [61] d'après, ils se confessèrent et communierent avec grand exemple, et si, à nostre départir, ils me prierent instamment trestous et par spacial le jeune du Pont, de les aller veoir et demeurer avec eux à ma commodité. Je leur promis d'ainsy le faire, et n'en attends que les moyens. Car de vray j'ayme ces gens de bien de tout mon cœur.

Mais, départans un peu de pensée d avec eux, comme nous fismes lors de presence, continuons nostre route et voyage. Au retour de cette rivière Saint Jean, nostre voyage s'addressoit jusques aux Armouchiquoys. Deux causes principales esmouvoient à cela M. de Biancourt: la premiere, pour avoir nouvelle des Angloys, et sçavoir si on pourroit avoir raison d'eux; la seconde affin de troquer du bled armouchiquoys, pour nous ayder à passer nostre hyver, et ne point mourir de faim, en cas que nous ne receussions aucun secours de France.

Pour entendre la première cause, faut sçavoir que peu auparavant, le capitaine Platrier de Honfleur, cy devant nonomé, voulant aller à Kinibéqui, il fut saisy prisonnier par deux navires angloys qui estoient en une isle appelée Emmetenic, à 8 lieües dudit Kinibéqui. Son relaschement fut moyennant quelques pre-

Our Lord, never to forget this, his goodness, if he were pleased to avert all bloodshed. This he granted in his infinite mercy.

It was three o'clock in the afternoon of the next day before I had time to feel hungry, so constantly had I been obliged to go back and forth from one to the other. At last, about that time everything was settled, thank God.

Certainly captain Merveilles and his people showed unusual piety. For notwithstanding this so annoying encounter and conflict, two days [61] afterwards they confessed and took communion in a very exemplary manner; and so, at our departure, they all begged me very earnestly, and particularly young du Pont, to come and see them and stay with them as long as I liked. I promised to do so, and am only waiting for the opportunity. For in truth I love these honest people with all my heart.

But dismissing them from our thoughts for the time being, as we did then from our presence, let us continue our journey. Upon our return from this river Saint John, our route turned towards the country of the Armouchiquoys. Two principal causes led M. de Biancourt to take this route: first, in order to have news of the English, and to find out if it would be possible to obtain satisfaction from them; secondly, to buy some armouchiquoys corn to help us pass the winter, and not die of hunger in case we did not receive help from France.

To understand the first cause you must know that, a little while before, captain Platrier, of Honfleur, already mentioned, wishing to go to Kinibéqui, was taken prisoner by two English ships which were at an island called Emmetenic,* eight leagues from

sents (ainsy parle-t-on pour parler doucement) et la promesse qu'il fit d'obtempérer aux prohibitions à luy faictes, de point negotier en toute [62] cette coste. Car les Angloys s'en veulent dire maistres, et sur ce ils produysoyent des lettres de leur Roy, mais à ce que nous croyons fausses.

Or Monsieur de Biancourt ayant ouy tout cecy de la bouche mesme du capitaine Platrier, il remontra serieusement à ces gens combien il importoit à luy, officier de la Couronne et Lieutenant de son pere, combien aussy à tout bon Françoy, d'aller au rencontra de cette usurpation des Anglois tant contrariante aux droits et possessions de sa Majesté. "Car, disoit-il, il est à tous notoire (pour ne reprendre l'affaire de plus hault) que le grand Henry, que Dieu absolve, suivant les droicts acquis par ses prédecesseurs et luy, donna à Monsieur des Monts, l'an 1604, toute cette région depuis le 40^e degré d'élévation jusques au 46. Depuis laquelle donation ledit Seigneur des Monts, par soy mesme et par Monsieur de Potrin-court, mon très-honoré pere, son lieutenant, et par autres, a prins souvent reelle possession de toute la contrée, et trois et quatre ans avant que jamais les Angloys ayent habitué, ou que jamais on aye rien entendu de cette leur vindication." Ceci et plusieurs autres choses discourroit ledit Sieur de Biancourt encourageant ses gens.

Moy, j'avois deux autres causes qui me poussoyent au mesme voyage: l'une, pour accompagner [63] d'ayde spirituel ledict Sieur de Biancourt et ses gens; l'autre, pour cognoistre et voir la disposition de ces nations à recevoir le saint evangile. Telles doncques estoient les causes de nostre voyage.

Nous arrivasmes à Kinibequi, 80 lieuës de Port-

Kinibéqui. His release was effected by means of presents (this expresses it mildly), and by his promise to comply with the interdictions laid upon him not to trade anywhere upon all [62] this coast. For the English want to be considered masters of it, and they produced letters from their King to this effect, but these we believe to be false.

Now, Monsieur de Biancourt, having heard all this from the mouth of captain Platrier himself, remonstrated earnestly with these people, showing how important it was to him, an officer of the Crown and his father's Lieutenant, and also how important to all good Frenchmen, to oppose this usurpation of the English, so contrary to the rights and possessions of his Majesty. "For," said he, "it is well known to all (not to go back any farther in the case) that the great Henry, may God give him absolution, in accordance with the rights acquired by his predecessors and by himself, gave to Monsieur des Monts, in the year 1604, all this region from the 40th to the 46th parallel of latitude. Since this donation, the said Seigneur des Monts, himself and through Monsieur de Potrincourt, my very honored father, his lieutenant, and through others, has frequently taken actual possession of all the country; and this, three or four years before the English had ever frequented it, or before anything had ever been heard of these claims of theirs." This and several other things were said by Sieur de Biancourt to encourage his people.

As for me, I had two other reasons which impelled me to take this journey: One, to give [63] spiritual aid to Sieur de Biancourt and his people; the other, to observe and to study the disposition of these nations to receive the holy gospel. Such, then, were the causes of our journey.

Royal, le 28 d'octobre, jour de S. Simon et S. Jude, de la mesme année 1611. Aussy tost nos gens mirent pied à terre, desireux de veoir le fort des Angloys; car nous avions appris par les chemins, qu'il n'y avoit personne. Or, comme de nouveau tout est beau, ce fust à louër et vanter cette entreprise des Angloys, et raconter les commodités du lieu; chacun en disoit ce que plus il prisoit. Mais de là à quelques jours, on changea bien d'advis; car on vid y avoir beau moyen de faire un contrefort qui les eust emprisonnés et privés de la mer et de la riviere; item que quand bien on les eust laissez là, si n'eussent-ils point jouy pourtant des commodités de la riviere, puisqu'elle a plusieurs autres et belles embouchurees bien distantes de là. D'avantage, ce qu'est le pis, nous ne croyons pas que de là à six lieuës à l'entour il y ayt un seul arpent de terre bien labourable, le sol n'estant tout de pierre et roche. Or, d'autant que le vent nous contrarioit à passer outre, le troisiesme jour venu, Monsieur de Biancourt [64] tourna l'incident en conseil et se delibera de recevoir l'ayde du vent, à refouler contremont la riviere, pour la bien recognoistre.

Nous avions advancé jà bien trois lieuës, et le flot nous manquant nous estions mis à l'anchre au milieu de la riviere; quand voicy que nous descouvrons six canots Armouchiquois venir à nous. Ils estoient 24 personnes dedans, tous gens de combat. Ils firent mille tentatives et ceremonies avant que nous aborder. Vous les eussiez parfaitement comparez à une troupe d'oyseaux, laquelle desire d'entrer en une cheneviere, mais elle craind l'espouvantail. Cela nous plaisoit fort, car aussy nos gens avoyent besoin

We arrived at Kinibéqui, eighty leagues from Port Royal, the 28th of October, the day of St. Simon and St. Jude, of the same year, 1611. Our people at once disembarked, wishing to see the English fort, for we had learned, on the way, that there was no one there. Now as everything is beautiful at first, this undertaking of the English had to be praised and extolled, and the conveniences of the place enumerated, each one pointing out what he valued the most. But a few days afterward they changed their views; for they saw that there was a fine opportunity for making a counter-fort there, which might have imprisoned them and cut them off from the sea and river; moreover, even if they had been left unmolested they would not have enjoyed the advantages of the river, since it has several other mouths, and good ones, some distance from there. Furthermore, what is worse, we do not believe that, in six leagues of the surrounding country, there is a single acre of good tillable land, the soil being nothing but stones and rocks. Now, inasmuch as the wind forced us to go on, when the third day came, Monsieur de Biancourt [64] considered the subject in council and decided to take advantage of the wind and go on up the river, in order to thoroughly explore it.

We had already advanced three good leagues, and had dropped anchor in the middle of the river waiting for the tide, when we suddenly discovered six Armouchiquois canoes coming towards us. There were twenty-four persons therein, all warriors. They went through a thousand maneuvers and ceremonies before accosting us, and might have been compared to a flock of birds which wanted to go into a hemp-field but feared the scarecrow. We

de temps pour s'armer et pavier. Enfin ils vindrent et revindrent, ils recogneurent, considererent fine-ment nostre nombre, nos pieces, nos armes, tout; et la nuict venuë, ils se logerent à l'autre bord du fleuve, sinon hors la portée, du moins hors la mire de nos canons.

Toute la nuit ce ne fust que haranguer, chanter, danser; car telle est la vie de toutes ces gens lors-qu'ils sont en troupe. Or comme nous presumions probablement que leurs chants et danses estoient invocations du diable, pour contrecarrer l'empire de ce maudit tyran, je fis que nos gens chantassent [65] quelques hymnes eclesiastiques, comme le *Salve*, l'*Ave Maris stella* et autres. Mais comme ils furent une fois en train de chanter, les chansons spirituelles leur manquant, ils se jetterent aux autres qu'ils sçavoyent. Estant encores à la fin de celles cy, comme c'est le naturel du François de tout imiter, ils se prindrent à contrefaire le chant et danse des Armouchiquois, qui estoient à la rive, les contrefaisant si bien en tout, que, pour les escouter, les Armouchiquois se taysoient; et puis nos gens se taysans, reciprocurement eux recommençoyent. Vrayement il y avoit beau rire: car vous eussiés dict que c'estoient deux chœurs qui s'entendoient fort bien, et à peine eussiés vous pû distinguer le vray Armouchiquois d'avec le feinct.

Le matin venu, nous poursuyvions notre route contremont. Eux, nous ayans accompagnez, nous dirent que si nous voulions du *piousquemin* (c'est leur bled), que nous debvions avec facilité prendre à droicte, et non avec grand travail et danger aller contremont; que prenant à droicte par le bras qui se monstroit, en peu d'heures, nous arriverions vers le grand sagamo

were very much pleased at this, for our people also needed to arm themselves and arrange the pavesade. In short, they continued to come and go; they reconnoitred; they carefully noted our numbers, our cannon, our arms, everything; and when night came they camped upon the other bank of the river, if not out of reach, at least beyond the aim of our cannon.

All night there was continual haranguing, singing and dancing, for such is the kind of life all these people lead when they are together. Now as we supposed that probably their songs and dances were invocations to the devil, to oppose the power of this cursed tyrant, I had our people sing [65] some sacred hymns, as the *Salve*, the *Ave Maris Stella*, and others. But when they once got into the way of singing, the spiritual songs being exhausted, they took up others with which they were familiar. When they came to the end of these, as the French are natural mimics, they began to mimic the singing and dancing of the Armouchiquois who were upon the bank, succeeding in it so well that the Armouchiquois stopped to listen to them; and then our people stopped and the others immediately began again. It was really very comical, for you would have said that they were two choirs which had a thorough understanding with each other, and scarcely could you distinguish the real Armouchiquois from their imitators.

In the morning we continued our journey up the river. The Armouchiquois, who were accompanying us, told us that if we wanted any *piousquemin* (corn), it would be better and easier for us to turn to the right and not, with great difficulty and risk, to continue going up the river; that if we turned to the

Meteourmite, qui nous fourniroit de tout; qu'ils nous y serviroient de guides, car aussy bien s'en alloyent ils le visiter.

Il est à presumer, et en avons de grands indices, qu'ils ne nous donnoyent ce conseil sinon en intention [66] de nous prendre aux filets, et avoir bon marché de nous à l'ayde de Meteourmite, lequel ils sçavaient estre ennemy des Anglois, et le conjecturoient l'estre de tous estrangers. Mais, Dieu mercy, leurs embusches se tournerent contre eux.

Cependant nous les creusmes; aussy partie d'eux s'en alloyent devant nous, partie après, partie aussy avec nous dedans la barque. Neantmoins Monsieur de Biancourt se tenoit tousiours sur ses gardes, et souvent faisoit marcher la chaloupe devant avec la sonde. Nous n'avions pas faict plus de demy lieue, quand, venus en un grand lac le sondeur nous crie: "Deux brasses d'eau, qu'une brasse, qu'une brasse partout." Aussy tost: Ameine, ameine, lasche l'ancbre. Où sont nos Armouchiquois? où sont-ils? point. Ils nous avoyent trestous insensiblement quittés. O les traistres! ô que Dieu nous a bien aydés! Ils nous avoyent conduicts aux pieges. "Revire, revire." Nous retournons sur nostre route.

Cependant Meteourmite ayant esté adverty de nostre venue, nous courroit au devant, et quoyqu'il nous vist tourner bride, si est-ce qu'il nous poursuyvit. Bien valut à Monsieur de Biancourt d'etre plus sage que plusieurs de son esquipage, qui ne crioyent lors que de tout tuer. Car ils estoient en grande cholere et en non moindre crainte; mais la cholere faisoit plus de bruit.

[67] Monsieur de Biancourt se reprima, et ne faisant pas autrement mauvaise chere à Meteourmite,

right through the branch which was just at hand, in a few hours we would reach the great sagamore Meteourmite, who would furnish us with all we wanted; that they would act as our guides, since they themselves were going to visit him.

It is to be supposed, and there were strong indications of it, that they gave us this advice only with the intention [66] of ensnaring us, and making an easy conquest of us by the help of Meteourmite, whom they knew to be the enemy of the English, and whom they supposed to be an enemy of all foreigners. But, thank God, their ambuscade was turned against themselves.

However, we believed them; so a part of them went ahead of us, part behind, and some in the barque with us. Nevertheless Monsieur de Biancourt was always on his guard, and often sent the boat on ahead with the sounding-lead. We had not gone more than half a league when, reaching a large lake, the sounder called out to us: "Two fathoms of water; only one fathom, only one fathom everywhere," and immediately afterward, "Stop! stop! cast anchor." Where are our Armouchiquois? Where are they? Not one. They had all silently disappeared. Oh, the traitors! Oh, how God had delivered us! They had led us into a trap. "Veer about, veer about." We retrace our path.

Meanwhile, Meteourmite having been informed of our coming, came to meet us, and, although he saw our prow turned about, yet he followed us. It was well that Monsieur de Biancourt was wiser than many of his crew, whose sole cry was to kill them all. For they were as angry as they were frightened; but their anger made the most noise.

[67] Monsieur de Biancourt restrained himself, and

apprit de luy qu'il y avoit une route par laquelle on pourroit passer; qu'à celle fin de ne la pas faillir, il nous donneroit de ses propres gens dedans nostre barque; qu'au reste vinssions à sa cabane, il tascheroit de nous donner contentement. Nous luy crusmes, et pensasmes nous en repentir; car nous passasmes des haults et destroicts si perilleux que ne coudions quasi jamays en eschapper. D'effect, en deux endroits, aucun de nos gens s'escrierent miserablement que nous estions trestous perdus. Mais, Dieu mercy, ils crierent trop tost.

Arrivés, Monsieur de Biancourt se mit en armes, pour en cet arroy aller veoir Meteourmite. Il le trouva en son hault appareil de majesté sauvagesque, seul dans une cabane bien nattée le haut et bas, et quelques quarante puissans jeunes hommes à l'entour de la cabane, en forme de corps de garde, chacun son pavois, son arc et flesches à terre au devant de soy. Ces gens ne sont point niais, nullement, et qu'on nous en croye.

Pour moy, je receus, ce jour là, la plus grande part des caresses; car, comme j'estois sans armes, les plus honorables, laissans les soldats, se prindrent à moy avec mille significations d'amitié. Ils me conduysirent en la plus grande cabane de toutes; [68] elle contenoit bien 80 ames. Les places prinses, je me jettay à genoux, et ayant faict le signe de la croix, recitay mon *Pater, Ave, Credo*, et quelques oraisons; puis, ayant faict pause, mes hostes, comme s'ils m'eussent bien entendu, m'applaudirent en leur façon, s'escriant *Ho! ho! ho!* Je leur donnay quelques croix et quelques images, leur en donnant à apprehender ce que je pouvois. Eux les baysoient

not otherwise showing any ill-will toward Meteourmite, learned from him that there was a route by which they could pass; that in order not to miss it, he would let us have some of his own people in our barque; that, besides, if we would come to his wigwam he would try to satisfy us. We trusted him, and thought we might have to repent it; for we traversed such perilous heights and narrow passes that we never expected to escape from them. In fact, in two places some of our men cried out in distress that we were all lost. But, thank God, they cried too soon.

When we arrived, Monsieur de Biancourt armed himself, and thus arrayed proceeded to pay a visit to Meteourmite. He found him in the royal apparel of savage majesty, alone in a wigwam that was well matted above and below, and about forty powerful young men stationed around it like a body-guard, each one with his shield, his bow and arrows upon the ground in front of him. These people are by no means simpletons, and you may believe us when we say so.

As for me, I received that day the greater part of the welcome; for, as I was unarmed, the most honorable of them, turning their backs upon the soldiers, approached me with a thousand demonstrations of friendship. They led me to the largest wigwam of all; [68] it contained fully eighty people. When they had taken their places, I fell upon my knees and repeated my *Pater, Ave, Credo*, and some orisons; then pausing, my hosts, as if they had understood me perfectly, applauded after their fashion, crying *Ho! ho! ho!* I gave them some crosses and pictures, explaining them as well as I could. They very

fort volontiers, faisoyent le signe de la Croix, et, chacun pour soy, s'efforçoient à me presenter ses enfans, à ce que je les benisse et leur donnasse quelque chose. Ainsy se passa cette visite, et une autre que je fis depuis.

Or Meteourmite avoit respondu à Monsieur de Biancourt, que pour le bled, ils n'en avoyent pas quantité; mais qu'ils avoyent aucunes peaux, s'il luy playsoit de troquer.

Le matin doncques de la troque venu, je m'en allay en une isle voisine avec un garçon, pour là offrir l'hostie saincte de nostre reconciliation. Nos gens de la barque, pour n'estre surprins, soubs couleur de la troque, s'estoient armez et barricadez, laissans place au milieu du tillac pour les Sauvages; mais en vain, car ils se jetterent tellement en foule et avec si grande avidité, qu'aussy tost ils remplirent tout le vaisseau, jà peslemeslés avec les nostres. On se mit à crier: Retire, retire-toy. Mais [69] à quel profit? Eux aussy crioyent de leur costé.

Ce fut lors que nos gens se penserent estre veritablement prins, et jà tout n'estoit que clameur et tumulte. Monsieur de Biancourt a souvent dit et redit, qu'il eut maintes fois le bras levé et la bouche ouverte pour en frappant le premier crier, "Tue, tue;" mais que cette seule consideration, ne sçay comment, le retinst, que j'estois dehors, et par consequent que si l'on en venoit aux mains, j'estois perdu. Dieu se servit de cette sienne bonne volonté, non seulement pour ma sauveté, mais autant pour celle de tout l'esquipage. Car, comme tous recognoissent bien à cette heure, si la folie eust esté faicte, jamais aucun n'en fust eschappé, et les Françoyss eussent esté descriés pour jamays en toute la coste.

willingly kissed them, made the sign of the Cross, and each one in his turn endeavored to present his children to me, so that I would bless them and give them something. Thus passed that visit, and another that I have since made.

Now Meteourmite had replied to Monsieur de Biancourt that as to the corn he did not have much, but he had some skins, if we were pleased to trade with him.

Then in the morning when the trade was to take place I went to a neighboring island with a boy, to there offer the blessed sacrament for our reconciliation. Our people in the barque, not to be taken by surprise under pretext of the trade, were armed and barricaded, leaving a place in the middle of the deck for the Savages; but in vain, for they rushed in in such crowds and with such greediness, that they immediately filled the whole ship, becoming all mixed up with our own people. Some one began to cry out, "Go back, go back." But [69] to what good? On the other hand, the savages were yelling also.

Then our people were sure they were captured, and there was nothing but cries and confusion. Monsieur de Biancourt has often said and said again, that several times he had raised his arm and opened his mouth to strike the first blow and to cry out, "Kill, kill;" but that somehow the one consideration that restrained him was that I was outside, and if they came to blows I was lost. God rewarded him for his good-will by saving not only me but also the whole crew. For, as all readily acknowledge at this hour, if any foolish act had been committed none of them would ever have escaped, and the French would have been condemned forever all along the coast.

Dieu voulut que Meteourmite et quelques autres capitaines apprehenderent le danger, et ainsy firent retirer leurs gens. Le soir venu, et jà tous estans retirés, Meteourmite mandaaucuns des siens pour excuser l'insolence du matin, protestant que tout le desordre estoit venu non de soy, ains des Armouchiquois; que mesmes ils nous avoyent desrobé une hasche et une gamelle (c'est une grande escuelle de bois), lequel meuble il nous renvoyoit; que ce larcin lui avoit tant despleu qu'aussitost après l'avoir decouvert, il avoit congedié les Armouchiquois; que pour luy, il avoit bon cœur, et sçavoit bien que [70] nous ne tuions ni ne battions point les Sauvages de par deçà, ains les recevions à nostre table, leur faisions souvent tabagie, et leur apportions plusieurs bonnes choses de France, pour lesquelles vertus ils nous aymoient. Ces gens, croy-je, sont les plus grands harangueurs de toute la terre; ils ne font rien sans cela.

Mais, d'autant que j'ay faict icy mention des Anglois, quelqu'un peut estre desirera de sçavoir leur adventure, laquelle nous apprismes en ce lieu. Il est doncques ainsy, que l'an 1608 les Anglois commencerent à s'habituer en l'une des embouschures de ce fleuve Kinibéqui, ainsy que nous avons dict cy devant. Ils avoyent lors un conducteur fort honneste homme, et se comportoit fort bien avec les naturels du païs. On dit neantmoins que les Armouchiquois se craignirent de tels voysins, et à cette cause firent mourir ce capitaine que j'ay dit. Ces gens ont ce mestier en usage, de tuer par magie. Or la seconde année 1609 les Anglois, soubs un autre capitaine, changerent de façon. Ils repoussoient les Sauvages sans aucun

God willed that Meteourmite and some other captains should apprehend the danger, and so cause their people to withdraw. When evening came and all had retired, Meteourmite sent some of his men to excuse the misconduct of the morning, protesting that all the disorder had originated not with him, but with the Armouchiquois; that they had even stolen a hatchet and a platter (a great wooden dish), which articles he herewith returned; that this theft had so displeased him that immediately after discovering it he had sent the Armouchiquois away from him; that, for his part, he was friendly towards us and knew very well that [70] we neither killed nor beat the Savages of those parts, but received them at our table and often made tabagie for them, and brought them a great many nice things from France, for which courtesies they loved us. These people are, I believe, the greatest speech-makers in the world; nothing can be done without speeches.

But as I have spoken here of the English, some one perhaps will wish to hear about their adventure, which was related to us in this place. So here it is: In 1608 the English began to settle at one of the mouths of this Kinibéqui river, as we have said before. They had then as leader a very honest man, who got along remarkably well with the natives of the country. They say, however, that the Armouchiquois were afraid of such neighbors, and so put the captain to death, as I have said. These people make a practice of killing by magic. But the second year, 1609, the English, under another captain, changed their tactics. They drove the Savages away without ceremony; they beat, maltreated and misused them outrageously and without restraint; con-

honneur; ils les battoyent, excedoyent et mastinoyent sans beaucoup de retenue: partant ces pauvres malmenés, impatiens du present, et augurants encores pis l'advenir, prindrent resolution, comme l'on dict, de tuer le louveteau avant qu'il eust des dents et griffes plus fortes. La commodité leur en fust un jour, que [71] trois chaloupes s'en estoient allées à l'escart en pescherie. Mes conjurez les suyvoient à la piste, et s'approchans avec beau semblant d'amitié (car ainsy font ils le plus de caresses où plus y a de trahison), ils entrent dedans, et au signal donné, chacun choysit son homme et le tua à coups de cousteau. Ainsy furent despeschez onze Angloys. Les autres intimidés abandonnerent leur entreprise cette mesme année, et ne l'ont point poursuyvie depuis, se contenus de venir l'esté en pescherie en cette isle d'Emetenic, que nous avons dit estre à 8 lieuës de leur fort encommencé.

A cette cause doncques, l'excès commis en la personne du capitaine Platrier par lesdicts Angloys ayant été perpetré en cette isle d'Emetenic, Monsieur de Biancourt se delibera de l'aller recognoistre, et y laisser quelque monument de revindication. Ce qu'il fit dressant sur le havre une fort belle croix, avec les armes de France. Aucuns de ses gens luy conseilloyent qu'il bruslast les chaloupes qu'il y trouva; mais, comme il est doux et humain, il ne le voulut point, voyant que c'estoyent vaisseaux non de soldats, ains de pescheurs.

De là, d'autant que la saison nous pressoit, estant jà le 6 novembre, nous tournasmes nos voiles pour retourner à Port-Royal, passant à Pentegoët, ainsy que nous avons promis aux Sauvages.

[72] Pentegoët est une fort belle riviere, et peut

sequently these poor, abused people, anxious about the present, and dreading still greater evils in the future, determined, as the saying is, to kill the whelp ere its teeth and claws became stronger.⁵ The opportunity came one day when [71] three boat-loads of them went away off to the fisheries. My conspirators followed in their boat, and approaching with a great show of friendliness (for they always make the greatest show of affection when they are the most treacherous), they go among them, and at a given signal each one seizes his man and stabs him to death. Thus were eleven Englishmen dispatched. The others were intimidated and abandoned their enterprise the same year; they have not resumed it since, being satisfied to come in the summer to fish, at this island of Emetenic, which we have said was eight leagues from the fort they had begun building.

So, for this reason, the outrage to which captain Platrier was subjected by these English having been committed upon this island of Emetenic, Monsieur de Biancourt decided to go and reconnoitre it, and to leave there some memento in assertion of his rights. This he did, erecting at the harbor a beautiful cross bearing the arms of France. Some of his crew advised him to burn the boats which he found there; but as he is kind and humane he would not do it, seeing they were fishermen's boats and not men-of-war.

Thence, as the season was advancing, it being already the 6th of November, we turned our ships towards Port Royal, stopping at Pentegoët, as we had promised the Savages.

[72] The Pentegoët is a very beautiful river, and may be compared to the Garonne in France. It flows

estre comparée à la Garonne de France. Elle se descharge dans le Golfe françois (baie de Fundy) et a plusieurs isles et roches à l'endroit de son embouchure; de maniere que si on ne monte fort avant, on estime que ce soit quelque grand sein ou baye de mer, là où on commence manifestement à recognoistre le lict et cours de riviere. Elle a son large d'environ 3 lieuës à 44 et demy degré de l'Equateur. On ne peut deviner quelle est la Norembeque des anciens, si ce n'est celle cy: car autrement et les autres et moy, nous enquestans de ce mot et lieu, n'en avons jamays peu rien apprendre.

Nous doncques, ayans avancé dans le courant de cette riviere trois lieuës ou plus, rencontrasmes un autre beau fleuve appellé Chiboctous, qui du nord-est vient se jeter dans ce grand Pentegoët.

Sur le confluant des deux rivieres, y avoit la plus belle assemblée des Sauvages que j'aye point encore veue. Ils estoient 80 canots et une chaloupe, 18 cabanes et bien environ 300 ames. Le plus apparent Sagamo s'appelloit Betsabés, homme discret et fort moderé; et, sans mentir, on recognoist souvent en ces Sauvages des vertus naturelles et politiques qui font rougir quiconque n'est eshonté, lorsqu'en comparaison ils regardent une bonne partie des Françoy's qui viennent en ces quartiers.

[73] Aprés qu'ils nous eurent recogneus, ils demerent grande joye le soir à leur accoustumée, par danses, chansons et harangues. Et nous, bien ayses d'estre en païs d'asseurance; car entre les Etechemins, tels que sont ceux cy, et les Souriquois, tels que sont ceux de Port-Royal, nous ne nous tenons sur nos gardes non plus qu'entre nos propres domes-

into french Bay [the bay of Fundy] and has many islands and rocks at its mouth; so that if you do not go some distance up, you will take it for a great bay or arm of the sea, until you begin to see plainly the bed and course of a river. It is about three leagues wide and is forty-four and one half degrees from the Equator. We cannot imagine what the Norembega of our forefathers was, if it were not this river; for elsewhere both the others and I myself have made inquiries about this place, and have never been able to learn anything concerning it.

When we had advanced three leagues or more into the current of the river we encountered another beautiful river called Chiboctous, which comes from the northeast to discharge its waters into the great Pentegoët.

At the confluence of these two rivers there was the finest assemblage of Savages that I have yet seen. There were 80 canoes and a boat, 18 wigwams and about 300 people.⁶ The most prominent Sagamore was called Betsabés, a man of great discretion and prudence; and I confess we often see in these Savages natural and graceful qualities which will make anyone but a shameless person blush, when they compare them to the greater part of the French who come over here.

[73] When they had recognized us they showed their great joy during the evening by their usual demonstrations; dancing, singing and making speeches. And as for us, we were very glad to be in a country of safety; for among the Etechemins, as these are, and the Souriquois, as are those of Port Royal, we are no more obliged to be on our guard than among

tiques, et Dieu mercy nous ne nous en sommes pas encores mal trouvez.

Le jour suivant, j'allay visiter les Sauvages, et y fis à mon accoustumé, ainsy qu' j'ay dict de Kinibéqui. Cela y fut de plus, qu'eux m'ayans dict y avoir quelques malades, je les allay visiter, et comme prestre, ainsy qu'est porté dans le Rituaire, recitay sur eux les saint Evangile et Oraisons, donnant à un chacun une croix pour se la pendre au col.

Entre les autres j'en trouvay un à leur mode estendu auprès du feu, les yeux et visage fort estonnés, suant à grosse goutte de la seule teste, qui à peine pouvoit parler, en un grand acces. Il me dirent qu'il estoit malade dés quatre mois, et que comme il apparoissoit, il ne la feroit pas longue. Or ne sçay-je quelle estoit sa maladie; si elle venoit seulement par intervalles, ou non, je n'en sçay rien: tant y a que le 2. jour d'aprés, je le vis dans nostre barque sain et gaillard, ayant sa croix pendue au col, et me fit recognoissance d'un fort bon visage, [74] me prenant par la main. Je n'eus moyen de luy parler, d'autant que lors on faisoit la troque, et à cette cause le tillac estoit tout remply des gens, et tous les truchemens empeschez. De vray je fus fort ayse que la bonté de Dieu commençoit à faire sentir à ces pauvres et abandonnées nations n'y avoir que tout bien et que toute prosperité au signe de la saincte et salutaire Croix.

Enfin, pour ne redire souvent le mefme, et en cet endroit et en tous les autres où nous avons pû converser avec ces pauvres gentils, nous avons tasché de leur imprimer quelques premières conceptions de la grandeur et verité du Christianisme, autant que les

our own servants, and, thank God, we have never yet been deceived in them.

The next day I went to visit the Savages, and followed my usual custom, which I have described in speaking of Kinibéqui. But there was more to be done here, as they told me they had some sick; I went to visit them; and as priest, it being thus ordained in the Ritual, I recited over them the holy Gospel and Orisons, giving to each one a cross to wear around the neck.

Among others I found one stretched out, after their fashion, before the fire, wonder expressed in his eyes and face, great drops standing out upon his forehead, scarcely able to speak, so severe was the attack. They told me that he had been sick for four months and, as it appeared, he could not last long. Now I do not know what his malady was; whether it only came intermittently or not I do not know; at all events, the second day after that I saw him in our barque, well and happy, with his cross around his neck. He showed his gratitude to me by a cheerful smile [74] and by taking my hand. I had no means of speaking to him, as the trading was then going on, and for this reason the deck was full of people and all the interpreters were busy. Truly I was very glad that the goodness of God was beginning to make these poor and abandoned people feel that in the sign of the holy and salutary Cross there was every good and every blessing.

Finally, not to continue repeating the same story, both in this place and in all others, where we have been able to talk with these poor gentiles, we have attempted to impress upon them some of the simplest

moyens s'en addonnoyent. Et pour le sommaire en un bloc, celuy a esté le fruct du voyage: nous avons commencé de cognoistre et estre cogneus; nous avons prins possession au nom de l'Eglise de Dieu de ces regions icy, y asseants le throsne royal de nostre Sauveur et Monarque Iesus Christ, son sainct autel; les Sauvages nous ont veu prier, celebtrer, prescher par nos discours, les images et croix, la façon de vivre et choses semblables, (ils) ont receu les premières apprehensions et semences de nostre saincte foy, lesquelles s'esclorront et germeront abondamment, s'il plaist à Dieu, quelque jour, y survenant un plus long est meilleur cultivage.

[75] De vray aussi, tel est quasi le principal fruct que nous faisions pour encores icy mesmes à Port-Royal, jusques à ce que nous ayons apris le langage. Cependant cela nous console de veoir ces petits Sauvageois, encores que non chrestiens, porter neantmoins volontiers, quand ils se trouvent icy, les cierges, les clochettes, l'eau benite et autre chose, marchans en bel ordre aux processions et enterremens que l'on faict. Ainsy s'accoustument-ils à estre chrestiens, pour en son temps le bien estre.

Il ne seroit besoin sinon que fussions meilleurs ouvriers de Nostre Seigneur, et n'empeschassions pas tant de graces d'iceluy sur nous et autruy, par tant de péchés et indignité. Quant à moy certes, j'ay grande occasion d'en battre bien rudement ma poctrine, et tous ceux qui ont le zèle de charité en debvroyent bien estre touchés au cœur. Nostre Seigneur, par sa saincte misericorde et par les prières de sa glorieuse mere et de toute son Eglise celeste et militante, en veuille estre fleschy à compassion!

Particulierement je supplie Vostre Reverence et

conceptions of the grandeur and truth of Christianity, in so far as our means would permit. And to sum it up in a word, this has been the result of our journey. We have begun to know and to be known, we have taken possession of these regions in the name of the Church of God, establishing here the royal throne of our Savior and King, Jesus Christ, his holy altar; the Savages have seen us pray, celebrate the mass, and preach; through our conversations, pictures, and crosses, our way of living, and other similar things, they have received the first faint ideas and germs of our holy faith, which will some day take root and grow abundantly, please God, if it is followed by a longer and better cultivation.

[75] And indeed such is about all we are accomplishing, even here at Port Royal, until we have learned the language. However, it comforts us to see these little Savages, though not yet christians, yet willingly, when they are here, carrying the candles, bells, holy water and other things, marching in good order in the processions and funerals which occur here. Thus they become accustomed to act as christians, to become so in reality in his time.

No need is felt except that we ought to be better workers for Our Lord, and ought not to divert from ourselves and others so many of his blessings by our many sins and great unworthiness. As for me, truly I have good reason to severely reproach myself; and all those who are imbued with earnest charity ought to be deeply touched in their hearts. May Our Lord, by his sacred mercy, and by the prayers of his glorious mother and of all his Church, both heavenly and militant, be moved to compassion!

Particularly I beg Your Reverence and all our

tous nos RR. PP. et FF. de vouloir se ressouvenir, en vos meilleures devotions, et de nous, et de ces pauvres ames, esclaves miserablement soubs la tyran nie de Satan. Qu'il plaise à ce bening Sauveur [76] du monde, la grace duquel personne ne previent et de qui les liberalités sont tousjours par dessus nos merites, qui luy plaise, dy-je, regarder enfin d'un œil pitoyable ces pauvres nations, et les retirer tost dans sa famille, en l'heureuse franchise des fortunés enfans de Dieu. Ainsy soit-il.

De Port-Royal, ce dernier de Ianvier 1612.

Cependant que j'escrivois ces lettres, le navire qu'on a envoyé pour nostre secours, est Dieu mercy arrivé sain et sauf, et dans iceluy nostre Frere Gilbert du Thet. Celuy pourra sçavoir l'aise qu'en avons receu et recevons, qui aura cogneu les dangers et nécessités où nous estions. Dieu soit beny. Amen.

De V. R. filz et serviteur
bien humble en Nostre Seigneur.

PIERRE BIARD.

Reverend Fathers and Brothers to be pleased to remember in your most earnest devotions both us and these poor souls, miserable slaves under the tyranny of Satan. May it please this benign Savior [76] of the world, whose grace is denied to no one, and whose bounty is ever beyond our merits, may it please him, I say, to look down with a pitying eye upon these poor tribes, and to gather them soon into his family, in the happy freedom of the favored children of God. Amen !

From Port Royal, this last day of January, 1612.

While I was writing these letters, the ship which was sent to our assistance has, thank God, arrived safe and sound, and in it our Brother Gilbert du Thet. He, who knows the dangers and necessities we were in, will appreciate the joy we felt and that we feel at its arrival. God be praised. Amen.

Of Your Reverence, the son and very
humble servant in Our Lord.

PIERRE BIARD.

CARTE GEOGRAPHIQUE DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE FAICTTE PAR LE SIEVR DE CHAMPLAIN SAINT TONGOIS CAPITAINE ORDINAIRE POUR LE ROY EN LA MARINE



REDUCED FACSIMILE OF GENERAL MAP, DRAWN BY CHAMPLAIN IN 1612, FROM *Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain* (PARIS, 1613).

X

BIARD'S EPISTOLA

ex Portu-regali in Acadia

Januarii 31, [1612]

DILLINGEN: MEYER'S PRESS, n. d.

SOURCE: Reprinted from O'Callaghan's Reprint, No. 1.

Misso Canadensis

E P I S T O L A

ex

Portu-regali in ACADIA

transmissa

Ad Praepositum Generalem Societatis IESV
A R. PETRO BIARDO ejusdem Societatis



*Secundum exemplar emissum in ANNUIS
LITTERIS Anni CIO. IOC. XI*

D I L I N G Æ.

Ex Typographeo Mayeria-
na, apud Melchiorem
Algayer.

Canadian Mission

L E T T E R

from

Port Royal in ACADIA

sent

To the General of the Society of JESUS by
Reverend PIERRE BIARD of the
same Society

*According to the copy published in the ANNUÆ
LITTERÆ of the year 1611*

DILLINGEN.

From Meyer's Press,
at Melchior
Algeyer's.

[iii] Lectori.

POSTQUAM Patres Societatis Jesu malevolentiam inimicorum suorum vicerant et in Galliam reversi erant, vocari videbantur aliò ad labores suos fructuofè collocandos.

Multa erat in Novâ Franciâ missis, ubi incolæ pene belluarum more sine Numinis cognitione vivebant.

Illuc igitur missi fuerunt duo Societatis facerdotes, Patres scilicet Petrus Biardus ct Enemundus Massæus, qui in Acadiam pervenerunt 22 Maii, Anno Salutis, 1611. Septem per menses ibi commoratus, [iv] P. Biardus hanc epistolam, Superiori suo transmisit.

Quatuor velluti in capita hæc litera divisa est, & narrat:
1° Quid sit Nova Francia, qualis regio, qui in eâ populi, quique mores.

2° Quo modo, quibusve auxiliis aut successu, Societas missionem illâ in regione consecuta fit.

3° Quonam in statu rem Christianam his in locis offendit Societas.

4° Quid a missionariis hacenus effectum seu potius attentatum fit.

Licet epistola sub finem habeat: ultimo die Januarii 10. 10. XI. ia quidem aut error in anno est, aut P. Biardus secundum stylum veterem scripsit, nam debet esse annus, 10. 10. XII.

[iii] To the Reader.

AFTER the Fathers of the Society of Jesus had overcome the ill-will of their enemies and again been admitted into France,⁷ they felt themselves called to other fields for the fruitful employment of their labors.

A rich harvest was offered in New France, where the natives lived almost like animals, without any knowledge of God.

To that country, accordingly, were sent two priests of the Society, Fathers Pierre Biard and Enemond Massé, who reached Acadia on the 22nd of May, 1611. After remaining there seven months, [iv] Father Biard sent this epistle to his Superior.

The letter is divided, as it were, under four heads, and relates :

1st. What New France is, the nature of the country, what tribes inhabit it, and their customs.

2nd. In what manner, with what help and with what success the Society secured a mission in that country.

3rd. In what condition the Society found the Christian religion in this region.

4th. What has been done by the missionaries thus far, or rather what has been attempted.

Although the end of the letter reads : the last day of January, 1611, — either there is an error in the year, or Father Biard wrote according to the old style, for the year ought to be 1612.⁸

[5] Missio Canadensis.

R EVERENDE IN CHRISTO PATER,
Pax Christi.

VOCAT Nos huius anni CIC. IOC.XI. instans iam atq; vrgens exitus ad recognoscendum coram Paternitate vestra principium, quo primùm Societas in has nouæ Franciæ regiones delata est: multorum quoque beneficiorum cumulus, quo nos diuina largitas in his & auspiciis, & fospitâdis initijs prosecuta est, hoc exigit, vt in hoc tanquam temporum annique portu actionum nostrarū, & tanquam velificationis feriem relegētes, Chariss: Patres Fratrésq; nostros inuite-
mus, & ad gaudium pro ijs, quæ feliciter [6] in nobis diuina manus operata est, & scilicet ad gemitum pariter & orationem pro ijs, quæ in animorum salute procuranda, segniter ipsi nequitérque multa delinquimus. Quod enim diutius antè Societas multifq; conatibus intenderat, vt aliquam suis laboribus posset huic quoq; siluaticæ genti opem & lucem Euangeliō inferendo affere, id hoc ipsa demum anno videtur, vt in tenui exiguoque principio satis feliciter, prouide disiderio esse affecuta.

Atque hoc scilicet mihi iam narrandum est, expōnendūmq; vestræ Paternitati, quæ & quanta sit hæc messis animorum, quidvè à magno Patrefamilias datum nobis hactenus, quid etiam porrò dandum spe-

[5] Canadian Mission.

R EVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,
The peace of Christ be with you.

THE END of this year 1611, which is already so rapidly drawing near, invites me to write to your Reverence in acknowledgment of its beginning, in which our Society first penetrated into this territory of new France. The profusion of blessings and favors which the divine bounty has bestowed upon us while undertaking and sustaining this infant enterprise, requires that in this haven, as it were, of time and of the year we should, reviewing the course of our actions and the occurrences of our voyage, invite our dear Fathers and Brothers to share both in our rejoicing for those things which the hand of God has happily [6] effected through us, and, too, in our mourning and our prayers for our delinquencies and inefficiency in seeking the salvation of souls. The object sought by the Society for a long time previously and with many efforts, that it might in some degree impart help and light to this savage people also by its labors in bringing the Gospel among them, it seems at last to have attained in this year, with a small and slight beginning indeed, yet auspiciously and in accordance with its hopes.

This also I must narrate and explain to your Reverence, of what nature and how numerous is this harvest of souls, and what has hitherto been given to us by our Heavenly Father, and what further gifts we may hope for in the future. But to facilitate my

retur. Sed vt commodissimè tota mihi narratio decurrat, neq; decurrentem, vt fit, multa effugiant, in quatuor videtur velut capita rei totius expositio esse diuidenda. Exponā ergo primū, quæ sit hæc noua Francia, quæ regio, qui populi morésque: tum deinde quomodo, quibusvē tandem auxilijs, aut fucceſſu Societas miffionem in has regiones [7] obtinuerit. Tertiò quonam in statu rem Christianam in his terris offenderimus. Postremò quid à nobis effectum hactenus, seu potiùs quid attentatum sit ad diuinam gloriam. Hæc mihi videtur esse posse commodissima & ſufficiens narrandorum omnium expositio.

Atque vt à capite ordinar explicémque primū, quænam sit hæc Noua Francia, quod ſolum, quivé ritus gentis, credo non ſolū Paternitati vestræ iucundum, fed nobis quoq; neceſſarium, regionem vniuersam accuratiūs defcribere. Nam cùm hic nobis ad laborandum campus affignatus, certum eſt, non posſe nos à veftra paternitate dirigi pro occurſuum varietate, niſi ea fines, adfractus viarum, viciniorum locorum diſtantiam, ſtatū gentis & rerum, noverit.

Præterea tot video à Geographis antiquis errores tenebrásque in hanc cognitionem indui, vt niſi à nobis ſuccurratur rerum non auditoribus fed ſpectatoribus, non poſſit non in noſtris itineribus & veftigij persequendis haud minūs à veritate, quām à corpore cogitatio peregrinari. [8] Norumbegam illi nobis nefcio quam, vrbésque & caſtella nominant, quorum hodie ne vmbra quidem aut ipſa vox extant.

whole narration, and to obviate the possible omission of many details in its course, I think it best to divide the whole matter under four heads. I shall therefore first describe new France, the country, the natives, and their customs; next, in what manner, and with what help, and with what result, our Society secured a mission to this country; [7] thirdly, in what condition we found the Christian religion in this region; and, finally, what has been accomplished by us thus far, or rather what has been attempted for the glory of God. This appears to me a very convenient and sufficient summary of all I am to tell.

And, in order that I may begin at the beginning and explain first what sort of a land New France is, the nature of the country and the customs of the natives, I think it will be not only a pleasure for your Reverence, but also a necessity for ourselves that the whole territory be rather accurately described. For, since this is the field assigned to us for our labors, it is certain that your reverence cannot direct us in accordance with our varied needs without a knowledge of the extent of the country, of the impediments to travel, of the distance of neighboring settlements, and of the condition of people and things.

Besides, I find this matter involved in so much error and darkness by the older Geographers, that unless we, who know these things not from hearsay only, but are eyewitnesses thereof, come to the rescue, it is impossible that the mind, in tracing our footsteps and our journeys, should not wander as far away from the truth as it has to do from the body. [8] They speak of a certain Norumbega and give the names of cities and strongholds of which to-day no trace or even report remains.

Verùm quod polliciti sumus exequamur. Noua Francia, vti nunc Galli vsurpant, regio illa est trans Oceanum Gallicum, quæ à quadragesimo primo gradu vsque ad quinquagesimum secundum latitudinis, aut etiam quinquagesimum tertium procurrat.

Scio ab alijs multò latiùs fines regionis porrigi, ab alijs coarctari angustiùs, sed ego hīc non dispuo: id folūm expono, quod nunc vti dixi communius usurpatur, vel quod hoc terrarum Gallorum nauigationibus ab aliquot iam annis maximè frequentatum & vindicatum est, vel quod illud idem ferè antiquæ Franciæ parallelū æqualiter eam ab occidente respicit.

Hæc igitur Noua Francia oram habet sanè multifariam, sinibus marinis fluminib[us]que exesam, an fractuosam & recurrentem. Sinus duo sunt maiores, [9] vastique; alter is, qui S. Laurentij gurges; alter, qui Francius appellatur.

Námque à quadragesimo septimo gradu, vsque ad quinquagesimum primum, tellus velut gremium appetit; siue ad accipiendum introrsus Oceanum, siue ad exonerandum magnum flumen Canadan. Atque hic gurges S. Laurentij dicitur, cuius in introitu ingens illa adiacet insula, quam terras nouas Galli, Barbari Praefentis appellant moluarum piscatu celeberrima; oram sinu[m] fluminisque tenent Aquilonem versùs Excommuniqui, siue, vt vulgus indiget, Excōmunicati. Fera gens est, & vt dicitur Anthropophaga, quanquam & hi olim fatis diu pacificè cū Gallis agitārunt, nunc irreconciliabiles cum his inimicitias exercent.

However, let me fulfill my promise. New France, as the French now call it, is that territory across the French Ocean which extends from the forty-first to the fifty-second, or even fifty-third degree of latitude.

I know that some extend the boundaries of this region much farther, while others restrict them more narrowly, but I am not arguing this point; I merely explain what is, as I have said, the prevailing interpretation of them, either because this part of the country has been for many years past particularly explored and claimed by the French, or because the parallels bounding this western region are almost the same as those of old France.

New France has an exceedingly varied sea-coast, indented by bays and rivers, broken and irregular. There are two principal bays [9] of vast size, one called the gulf of St. Lawrence, the other French bay.

Indeed, from the forty-seventh degree as far as to the fifty-first, the land opens its bosom, as it were, to receive the Ocean into it, or to facilitate the outflow of the great Canadian river. This gulf is known as the gulf of St. Lawrence, in the mouth of which lies that enormous island which the French call newfoundland, the Savages *Præsentis* [*Plaisance*];⁹ it is famous for its cod-fishery; the shores of the gulf and the rivers are occupied toward the North by the Ex-communiqui, or, as they are commonly called, the Excommunicated.¹⁰ This tribe is very savage, and, it is said, is addicted to Cannibalism; although once in very peaceful relations with the French for a considerable length of time, it is now on a footing of irreconcilable enmity. There follow, in the interior, toward the west, the Algonquins; then the Montagnais; those dwelling at the head-waters of this

Sequuntur interiūs, occidentem versūs Algonquini, pōst Montagnesij, intimi sunt ad capita ipsius magni fluminis Canadæ, Irocosij, qui etiam latè Austrum versus protenduntur.

Atque hi ferè Irocosij noti sunt Gallis duntaxat ob perpetua bella, quæ cum Montagnesij, & Algonquinis fœderatis [10] & amicis populis geruntur. Iam verò Austrum versùs terra ab hoc S. Laurentij sinu paulatim usque ad quadragesimum tertium gradum excurrit, vbi rursus altero sinu maximo inciditur, quem Francicum appellant. Hic gurges terras vastè exedens, sefèque Aquilonem versùs & S. Laurentij finum incuruans, velut Isthmum efficit; Isthmumque adiuuat S. Ioannis longissimum flumē, quod orsum ab ipso propemodum ora magni Canadæ in hūc sefe Francicum gurgitem exonerat. Continet hic Isthmus leucas admodū quingentas circuitu suo, eūmque occupant Soriqui populi. In hoc Isthmo portus regalis est, vbi nunc degimus, ad gradum latitudinis quadragesimum quartum cum beffe. Sed habet portus ostium suum (ne quis fallatur) non in Oceanum ad orientem obuersum, sed in finum eum, quem dixi Francicum: ad Occidentem & septentrionem à fluvio Sancti Ioannis usque ad fluuium Potugoët, atque adeò usque ad flumen Rimbegui habitant Etheminquenes. Habet Rimbegui ostia sua sub gradu quadragesimo [11] tertio cum beffe. Nec procul est Chouacoët, quod alterum est latus siue brachium terræ, quod finum Frācicum excipit. Námque ad orientem est illud, quod

same great Canadian river are the Irocois, whose territory also extends far to the South.

These Irocois are known to the French chiefly for the perpetual warfare which they maintain against the Montagnais and Algonquins, allied [10] and friendly tribes. To the South, however, the coast gradually advances up to the forty-third degree, where once more it is interrupted by a very large bay called French bay. This gulf, advancing far into the interior, and bending toward the North and the gulf of St. Lawrence, forms a sort of Isthmus; and this Isthmus is completed by the St. John, a very long river which, taking its rise almost at the very banks of the great Canadian river, empties into this French bay. This Isthmus has a circuit of fully five hundred leagues and is occupied by the Soriquois tribe. In this Isthmus is port royal, where we are now sojourning, lying on the parallel of $44^{\circ} 40'$. But this port (to obviate misunderstanding) is not on the Ocean lying eastward, but on that gulf which I have called French bay. To the West and north, from the river of St. John to the river Potugoët,³ and even to the river Rimbegui,² live the Etheminquies. The mouth of this river is in latitude $43^{\circ} 40'$. [11] Not far distant is Chouacoët,¹¹ which is the other shore or arm embracing French Bay. For to the east lies what we call cape sable, while Chouacoët lies toward the West; both are on the forty-third parallel, though they are separated by an interval of a hundred leagues. From the Rimbegui* river to the fortieth parallel the whole country is in the possession of the tribe called the Armouchiquois. Such is the distribution of the territory. The tribes amount to seven in number, differing from each other

* *Sic.* for Kinibequi.—[O'Callaghan.]

promontorium fabulosum nominamus : ad Occidentem Chouacoët; vtrumque ad quadragesimum tertium eleuationis gradum, cùm tamen inter hoc atque illud centum leucarum intercapedo sit: à fluvio Rimbegui* vsque ad quadragesimum gradum latè possident, qui Armouchiqui appellantur. Atque hæc ferè partitio est regionis: itaque si numeres, populi erunt septem, linguâ inter se ac studijs discrepantes; Excommunicati, Algonquini, Montagnesij, Irocosij, Soriqui, Etheminquenses, & Armouchiqui. Sed ex ijs nec Excommunicati, nec Irocosij, nec Armouchiqui multum Gallis noti sunt. Reliqui quatuor in firmam iam videntur cum ijs amicitiam & cōfuetudinem coaluisse. Pernoctant ipsi nobiscum, nos cum ipsis vagamur, venamur, viuimus sine armis, sine metu; & quod adhuc apparuerit, sine periculo. Cauffæ frequentandi piscatio fuit Moluarum, [12] quibus hoc mare abundat, & pellum permutatio. Nam cùm ære, ferro, cānabe, lanā, frugibus, atq; omni ferè artificio Barbari careant, hæc à Gallis accipiunt. Ipsi contrà, qui vnicus thesaurus est, pelles retribuunt. Est autem regio tota magnam partem perfrigida. Cauffæ sunt plures; vna quòd valde aquosa est; nam præterquam quòd vndique ferè mari alluitur, fluminibus præterea & stagnis lacubúsque maximis abundat. Insulæ ita frequentes sunt, vt ora tota ijs intercisa, & tanquam baccata sit. Hinc sequitur nimirum, vt pruinosa sit, & tamē ventosa, sed flatu non nisi ferè

* Sic. pro Kinibequi.

in language and character: the Excommunicated, the Algonquins, the Montagnais, the Irocois, the Soriquois, the Etheminqui and the Armouchiquois. But of these neither the Excommunicated, nor the Irocois, nor the Armouchiquois are well known to the French. The remaining four tribes appear already to be united in firm friendship and intimacy with them. They stay over night among us; we rove about with them, and hunt with them and live among them without arms and without fear; and, as has thus far appeared, without danger. This intimacy arose partly from association while fishing for Cod,[12] which abound in these waters, and partly from trading in furs. For the Savages, who have neither copper, iron, hemp, wool, vegetables nor manufactured articles of any kind, resort to the French for them, giving in return the only thing of value they have, namely, furs. This whole region is for the most part very cold, owing to various causes. In the first place, the country is a very wet one; for, besides being washed on almost every side by the sea, it abounds in rivers and ponds and large lakes. Islands are so numerous that the whole shore is cut up by a confused procession of them, as it were. Moreover, though a land of frost, it is very windy, the wind being nearly always a cold one. Another cause of cold is the wildness of the country; for, being covered on every side by one continuous forest, it naturally follows that the soil hardly ever becomes really warmed through. A third cause is the mountains, covered with snow and perpetual frost, which are said to wall us in far away to the North and the West.

We certainly get nothing from that quarter but piercing winds and snow-storms. Elsewhere, how-

algido. Altera est cauffa frigoris, quòd inulta fit; nam cùm latè omnia silua vna contineat, nihil mirum est, si vix vnquam possit humus calefieri. Adde his, si placet, cauffam tertiam, montes videlicet niuofos ac perpetuò rigentes, quibus dicimur ab Occidente ac Septentrione procul obuallari.

Certè quidem ab ea parte non nisi gelu perflamur & niuibus. Alioqui sanè facies regionis est peramoena, pluribus [13] locis hospitem inuitans ac bene pollicens; & quod apparuit, si colatur, non infœcunda. Indigenæ rari sunt. Etheminqüenses mille capita numerare non possent, nec multò plus Algonquini simul & Montanenses iuncti: Soriqui duo millia non conficerent: Itaque summùm quatuor capitum millibus tam vasti terrarum & littorum tractus non tenentur, sed percurruntur. Gens enim est vaga, siluestris, & sparsa, vt quæ venatu solo & piscatu viuat. Imberbes feré, & quidem statura cōmuni, vel paulò breuiore ac graciliore quàm nostri, at non degener tamen aut indecora; color non multùm fuscus, faciem vulgò pingunt, & in luctu atrant. Iuris amantes, ac vim latrociniūmque perosi. Quod sanè mirum est in hominibus, qui lege ac magistratu carent. Sui enim quisque dominus est ac vindicta. Sagamos quidem habēt, hoc est bellorum ductores, sed quorum omnino precarium sit imperium, si tamen imperium appellandum est, vbi nulla est necessitas parendi. Sequuntur vel exemplo, vel vfu, vel affinitatis [14] aut generis conciliatione inducti, nonnunquam etiam certè cuius-

ever, the appearance of the country is very pleasing, and in many [13] places inviting to the settler and quite promising; and, as experience has shown, it is not unfruitful if cultivated. The natives are not numerous. The Etheminiui number less than a thousand, the Algonquins and the Montagnais together would not amount to much more, the Soriquois would not amount to two thousand. Thus four thousand Indians at most roam through, rather than occupy, these vast stretches of inland territory and sea-shore. For they are a nomadic people, living in the forests and scattered over wide spaces, as is natural for those who live by hunting and fishing only. They are nearly all beardless and of average stature, or even a little shorter and more slender than we, but not degraded nor ill-favored in appearance; their color is not very swarthy; they commonly paint their faces, and, when in mourning, blacken them. They love justice and hate violence and robbery, a thing really remarkable in men who have neither laws nor magistrates; for, among them, each man is his own master and his own protector. They have Sagamores, that is, leaders in war; but their authority is most precarious, if, indeed, that may be called authority to which obedience is in no wise obligatory. The Indians follow them through the persuasion of example or of custom, [14] or of ties of kindred and alliance; sometimes even through a certain authority of power, no doubt. They wage war as a tribe on account of wrongs done to a private individual. The whole race is very revengeful and, after the fashion of savages, insolent in victory, carrying about the heads of their captives as trophies and spoils of victory.

They are even said to have been addicted to the eating of human flesh, and the Excommunicated and

dam potentiae auctoritate: bella populatim gerunt, ob illatas priuatis iniurias. Genus totum vindictae audi-
dum; & vt barbarum, in victoriâ infolens, captiuorum capita tanquam opima spolia & torques magno gaudio circumferunt.

Et quidem dicuntur humanis carnibus non absti-
nuisse, idque etiamnum perhibentur & Excommuni-
cati & Armonchiqui facere: verum ab ijs, quorum est
cum Gallis confuetudo, tantum scelus procul abest.

Religio tota certis incantationibus, choreis, & vene-
ficijs constat; nimirum vt aut necessariae vitæ conqui-
rant, aut inimicos amoliantur; suos habent Autmoi-
nos, hoc est veneficos, qui malū Daemonem consulant
de vita & morte, futurorūmque euentis; & quidem fefe
illis mala bellua præsentem fæpe sifit, vt ipsi afferunt,
vindictam annuit, renuítque, mortem inimicorum
fuorumvē, venationem prosperam, & cetera eiusmodi
ludibria, quorum vt ne quid desit, [15] etiam somnijs
fidem habent: si fortè super placito & bene auspicante
somnio euigilauerint, confurgunt, vel de nocte con-
cubia, & omen cantu ac choreis sequuntur. Templa,
ædefvē sacras, ritus, cæremonias, disciplinam nullam
habent, vti nec leges aut artificia politiamvē vllam,
præter certos mores & consuetudinem, quorū sunt
retinentissimi. Si quem Veneficus respondit ad certā
diem moriturum, is deseritur ab omnibus; quin
ipse adeò miser, vtpote iam mortis certus, vltro sibi
inediam atque omnium incuriam indicit, credo ne
videatur contra fatum pugnare.

Armouchiquois tribes are said to have the same practice even now. Those, however, who are intimate with the French are far from being guilty of so great a crime.

Their whole religion consists of certain incantations, dances and sorcery, which they have recourse to, it seems, either to procure the necessities of life or to get rid of their enemies; they have Autmoinos, that is, medicine-men, who consult the evil Spirit regarding life and death and future events; and the evil spirit [great beast] often presents himself before them, as they themselves assert, approves or disapproves their schemes of vengeance, promises them the death of their enemies or friends, or prosperity in the chase, and other mockeries of the same sort. To make these complete they [15] even have faith in dreams; if they happen to awake from a pleasing and auspicious dream, they rise even in the middle of the night and hail the omen with songs and dances. They have no temples, sacred edifices, rites, ceremonies or religious teaching, just as they have no laws, arts or government, save certain customs and traditions of which they are very tenacious. If the Medicine-man predicts that a certain person will die before a fixed date, this man is deserted by all; and, in his misery, feeling certain of impending death, he voluntarily condemns himself to suffer hunger and complete neglect, apparently that he may not seem to contend against fate.

If, however, he does not appear to be in a dying condition by the time predicted, his friends and relatives even hasten his death by pouring jars of cold water over his stomach. Such is the piety of these servants of Satan. Thus, no doubt because he is always deceitful, the soothsayer never appears to

Quin etiam si fortè ad præstitutam diem, vt sæpe fit, moribundus non videatur, pro se quisq; proximi vrceis frigidæ in ventrem miferi inuergendis celerant mortem. Hæc pietas est Sathanæ mancipijs: ita quoque nimirūm, quia semper fallax est, diuinus nunquam fallit; quāquam natio ista deceptrix aruspicum multum iam de auctoriate suā ab aduētu Gallorum amisit; passimque nunc quiritantur, suos iam Diabolos viribus exidiffe, [16] præut quidam ferūt Patrum suorum fuisse temporibus. Mortuorum ita cum corpore sepeliunt memoriam, vt ne nomen quidem deinceps audire fustineant. DEI quidem vnius supremitu[m] tenuem quandam habent cognitionem, verumtamen affectibus & vsu deprauati nihilo feciūs, vt dixi, Cacodæmonem etiam colunt; ob vitæ commoda, algoris & inediæ patientes sunt supra modum. Octo, decem dies, si fors ita exigat, feram ieuni persequūtur, summis niuibus frigorib; q; tum maximè ardet venatio. Et tamen hi ipsi Boreâ, vt sic dicam, & crystallo nati, vbi semel sub suis tugurijs cum præda confederunt, inertes illico, & cuiusuis laboris impatientes sunt: feminis mandant omnia: hæ præter onerofam liberorum educationē, gestationémque, insuper feram ex eo loco vbi ceciderit, aduehunt: hæ lignatum & aquatum eunt hæ supellec̄tilem conficiunt, curántque: cibos apparant, feras excoriant, pelles fullonis arte conficiunt, vestimenta consuunt, pescantur & conchas maximè ad cibum legunt, sæpe [17] etiam venantur: hæ canoas, hoc est cymbulas miræ celeritatis è cortice

deceive himself; although this lying race of prophets have lost much of their authority since the coming of the French, and now universally complain that their Devils have lost much of their power,[16] if compared with what it is said to have been in the time of their Ancestors. They so completely bury the very remembrance of the dead with their bodies that they will not even suffer their names to be mentioned afterwards. Of the one supreme GOD they have a certain slender notion, but they are so perverted by false ideas and by custom, that, as I have said, they really worship the Devil. To obtain the necessaries of life they endure cold and hunger in an extraordinary manner. During eight or ten days, if the necessity is imposed on them, they will follow the chase in fasting, and they hunt with the greatest ardor when the snow is deepest and the cold most severe. And yet these same Savages, the offspring, so to speak, of Boreas and the ice, when once they have returned with their booty and installed themselves in their tents, become indolent and unwilling to perform any labor whatever, imposing this entirely upon the women. The latter, besides the onerous rôle of bearing and rearing the children, also transport the game from the place where it has fallen; they are the hewers of wood and drawers of water; they make and repair the household utensils; they prepare food; they skin the game and prepare the hides like fullers; they sew garments; they catch fish and gather shell-fish for food; often [17] they even hunt; they make the canoes, that is, skiffs of marvelous rapidity, out of bark; they set up the tents wherever and whenever they stop for the night—in short, the men concern themselves with nothing but the more laborious hunting and the waging of war. For this reason

compingunt, tuguriola, vbi & quando pernoctandum est, ædificant: denique præter laboriosorem venationem & bella nihil aliud quidquam viris est pensi. Hac de cauffa plures ferè vxores quisque habet, Sagami maximè, vt qui potentiam suam & concursum pluriū tanquam clientium tueri nequeant, non solùm sine pluribus liberis, qui valeant ad terrorem & gratiam, sed etiam sine pluribus mancipijs, quæ necessaria vitæ officia & exequantur & tolerent. Nam feminas mancipientrum loco habent, tractántqz. Inter se mirificè liberales sūt, nihil quisquam aut fortunarum, aut sibi habere fustineat, quin partem maximā astantibus eroget, quin etiam qui Tabagiam agit, vt loquūtur, hoc est qui conuiuio alios excipit, non accumbit ipse cum reliquis, sed ministrat, neqz partem aliquam dapis residuam sibi facit, sed distribuit omnia, ita vt famem cogatur eo die conuiuator pati, nisi quis inuitatorū, ex eo quod sibi superfuerit, miseratus ei [18] retribuat. Et similis apparuit sæpe liberalitas in Gallos aliquo casu oppressos. Nam erga reliquos, aut hīc aut in nauibus agentes didicerunt à nobis non facilè quicquā gratis dare. Pedunculos capitis quæsitant, & in delicijs habent. In mendicando & postulando importunissimi sunt, & qui esse solent mendicorū & inopū mores, falsi, obloquutores, affētatores, vani. Gallos quidē atqz omnes gentes cùm femel saturi sunt, longè despiciunt, irridéntqz clanculum omnia; etiam religionē, quam susceperint. Tuguriola sua vbiuis facilè ac raptim sudibus ramificè ædificant, &

almost every one has several wives, and especially the Sagamores, since they cannot maintain their power and keep up the number of their dependents unless they have not only many children to inspire fear or conciliate favor, but also many slaves to perform patiently the menial tasks of every sort that are necessary. For their wives are regarded and treated as slaves. These Savages are extremely liberal toward each other; no one is willing to enjoy any good fortune by himself, but makes his friends sharers in the larger part of it; and whoever receives guests at what they call a Tabagie does not himself sit down with the others, but waits on them, and does not reserve any portion of the food for himself but distributes all; so that the host is constrained to suffer hunger during that day, unless some one of his guests takes pity on him [18] and gives him back a portion of what remains over from his own share. And they have often shown the same liberality toward the French, when they have found them in distress. For they have learned from us that, toward others than these, whether here or in the ships, nothing is readily given away. They hunt after the lice in their heads and regard them as a dainty. They are most importunate beggars and, after the fashion of beggars and needy people, they are hypocritical—contradicting, flattering and lying to achieve their ends. But when once they have gotten their fill they go off, mocking the French and everybody else at a distance and secretly laughing at everything, even the religion which they have received. They set up their tents easily and quickly in any place with branching stakes, which they cover either with bark or skins or even with mats. The fire is built in the middle. But this is enough, and more than enough,

aut cortice aut pellibus aut etiā tegete cōtegunt. Ignis in medio extruitur. Sed hæc iam satis supérque de regione & hominibus, maximè cùm accuratam regionis Chorographiam mittam; ex quo vno intuitu, quidquid de terrarum & maris situ dixi, liquidò apparet.

NVNC ad id venio, quod secundo loco proposui, vt scilicet explicem, quanam tandem via Societas missione in hanc prouinciam obtinuerit. Et quidem nostri [19] Burdigalenses pro suo animarum zelo à multis retro annis huc respectârant, huc intenderant, vt miseræ nationi opem ferrent: sed pios eorum & ardentes conatus, quos periculi facies non terreret, diu subsidiorum ad agendum inopia frustrata est. Restituta demum in Galliam Societate, agere seriò per P. Cotonum cum Magno Henrico cœperunt, sibi vt liceret in his quoque regionibus laborare, & amplexus est Rex Societatis amans tam piam & propenfam voluntatem, sed nihilominus tamen vtilibus confilijs longa adhuc & odiosa mora interuenit. Nulli adhuc Galli regionem incolebant, commorandi animo, & qui antè à Rege missus fuerat, explorandi tentandique causâ, alienus à sacris nostris erat, & ijs postmodum rebus, non solùm infectis, sed etiam prope desperatis domum in Galliam redijt: iussit tamen Princeps iniictus ne desponderemus animum, mittendi solùm destinarentur, monitum se cùm matrum foret; atque adeò vt arrha quædam esset sponsionis, pecuniam ex eo tēpore in [20] viaticum assignauit.

regarding the country and the people, especially as I send an accurate Map of the region, a single glance at which will make clear whatever I have said regarding the geography of land and sea.¹²

Now I shall enter upon my second topic and explain by what means the Society finally secured the sending of a mission to this province. It is true that our adherents at [19] Bordeaux, in their zeal for the saving of souls, had looked forward to this, and had aimed at this for many years back, namely, at bringing help to this wretched race. But their pious and ardent efforts, which recoiled before no danger, were long frustrated by lack of means for prosecuting them. When our Society was at last re-admitted into France, they began to negotiate in earnest with Henry the Great, through Father Coton, to obtain permission to labor in these regions also, and the King, so full of good-will toward our Society, espoused this pious and important project; but, nevertheless, the taking of active steps was preceded by a long and vexatious delay. No Frenchmen as yet inhabited this region with the purpose of settling here, and such as had been sent by the King as explorers and in a tentative way, being indifferent to our holy aims, had soon returned to France, leaving these things not only unaccomplished but even almost hopeless. But our Prince, undeterred by these considerations, bade us be of good heart, and promised, if we would but designate those who were to be sent, that he would let us know when he deemed the time opportune; and, as an earnest of his promise, from that time forward he assigned to us a sum of money for the [20] voyage. But at this point, unhappily, occurred the tragic death of the King. Yet at this very season GOD came to our help. Some messen-

Sed hæc agentibus, ecce pij Regis funesta mors intercedit. Nō defuit DEVS sub idem anni tempus: ad nouum regem nuntij rediérunt ab eo, qui anno superiore in has sibi terras coloniā depoposcerat.

Is est Ioannes Biencurtius, vulgò Potrincurtius, nobilis & magni animi vir. Ergo accepta occasione agitur cum Regina Regente Maria Medicæa, maximæ pietatis heroina, vt quæ maritus tanta virtute destinasset, per eam efficerentur, daretur locus duobus è Nostris in eâ naui, quæ proximè huc effet ventura. Annuit Regina, munificéque respondit desiderio. Ergo statim ex Aquitania euocatus Sacerdos vnum, alter ex ipsa Francia desumptus. Sed ecce rursum moras, rursum fefe Sathanas excitat. Dieppâ erat foluendum, & ea nauis, quæ huc vela faciebat ita erat mercatoribus Hæreticis obnoxia, vt sine ipsis commouere se non posset. Ergo ij simul ac Nostros vident, negant enimuerd præcisè fefe passuros, vt rudens expediatur, si Iesuitæ nauigaturi sint. Obtenit [21] Reginæ imperium, interponitur etiam Gubernatoris auctoritas. Itur, redditürque ad Reginam, & ab ea literæ, mandatáque afferuntur, sed obstinationem hæreticam, vt Ecclesiæ, ita nec Regum frangit aut permouet auctoritas. Hæc peruicacia benignissimorum Principum illustriorē pietatam fecit. Namque Antonia Pontia Marchionissa Guercheuilia matrona clarissima, & vt appellant, filiarum Reginæ gubernatrix, vbi has tricas audijt, pro suo in DEVm & Societatem amore, non dubitauit à maximis quibusq;

gers came to the new king from the man who last year solicited the royal permission to found a colony in this country.

This man is Jean Biencourt, commonly called Potrincourt, of noble birth and a magnanimous man. Accordingly, seizing this opportunity, we made overtures to the Queen Regent, Marie de Médicis, that most pious and exalted lady, begging her to execute what her husband had so piously purposed by giving a place to two of our Fathers in the ship which was to sail shortly for this place. The Queen assented, and responded to our request most liberally. Accordingly one Priest was immediately summoned from Aquitaine, and another was chosen in France. But lo! Satan rouses himself again, and again interposes new delay. We were to sail from Dieppe, but the ship that was to bear us to this country was so completely under the influence of Heretical merchants that it could not stir without their consent. Accordingly, as soon as they saw our Priests they refused outright to let the ship sail if the Jesuits were to embark in it. The order of the [21] Queen was alleged, and the authority of the Governor was interposed. Recourse was had to the Queen, and letters and orders were obtained from her; but even Royal authority is, like that of the Church, unable to break or bend heretical obstinacy. This stubborn resistance lent all the more lustre to the piety of our benignant Rulers. For Antoinette de Pons, Marchioness de Guercheville, a most illustrious lady, and governess to the daughters of the Queen, on learning these petty hindrances did not hesitate, in her love for GOD and for our Society, to ask in his name for aid from some of the greatest men in the council of this realm, that the contumacy of the heretics might

totius curiæ eleemosynam petere eo nomine, vt victâ hæretorum contumaciâ Iesuitis liceret in has terras proficisci. Nec difficile ei fuit, in pia caufsa suapte sponte propensam Catholicorum Principum benignitatem allicere: breui summa confecta est librarum quatuor millium. Ea & hæretorum repulit iniqutatem, & Nostros in nauim non iam vt hospites, sed vt magna ex parte Dominos, potentissimisq[ue] imposuit. Ita nimis Christus, vt folet, per hostium impugnationem confirmauit suos, [22] per iniqutatem auxilijs necessarijs instruxit, & per machinationes, atque opprobria è tenebris atque ignobilitate vindicauit: ipsi gloria in fæcula. Amen.

Dieppâ soluimus incommodissimo tempore, vigesimo sexto Ianuarij Anni huius **cic. ic. xi.** Nauis erat non magna, & haud satis instructa, nautæ ex magna parte hæretici; & vt hyeme in procelloso mari, multis grauissimisq[ue] tempestatibus perfuncti fumus, tenuissimisq[ue] nauigatio menses ipsos quatuor. Ex quibus apparet, quâm multa omnis generis preferenda fuerint. Certè alter nostrum magnam itineris partem æger, debilitatisque iacuit. Conati tamen fumus consueta Societatis munia exhibere. Manè ac vespere ad orationem vectores conuocabantur quotidie: festis etiam officia quædam Ecclesiastica decabantur; saepè habebantur cohortationes piæ, interdum nonnullæ cum hæreticis disputationes: iurandi cōsuetudo & verborū lasciuia reprimebatur. Non omittebantur multa simul humilitatis, simul charitatis exempla.

be subdued and the Jesuits permitted to sail to this land. Nor did she have any difficulty in gaining the good-will of the Catholic Princes, inclined of their own accord to sympathize with this holy cause; in a word, the sum of four thousand livres was collected. This not only put an end to the iniquitous resistance of the heretics, but gave our Priests the influence of Masters rather than of mere passengers in the ship. Thus, no doubt Christ, as usual, has strengthened his own followers through the attacks of enemies; [22] through their iniquity he has furnished aid to his own children and protected them from the darkness and the baseness of their foes, even through their intrigues and insult; his be the glory forever and ever. Amen.

We sailed from Dieppe in a most unfavorable season, on the 26th of January, of this year 1611. The ship was not large and was insufficiently equipped; the sailors were mostly heretics. As it was winter and the sea was stormy, we encountered many severe tempests and the voyage lasted four whole months, from which it is apparent how many sufferings of every kind we underwent. Indeed, during the greater portion of the voyage one or the other of us lay sick and debilitated. Yet we attempted to discharge the usual duties of our Society. Morning and evening, every day, the passengers were called together for prayer; on holidays certain Ecclesiastical services were held, pious exhortations were frequently made, and sometimes disputation with the heretics took place. The habit of swearing and using obscene language was repressed. Nor were there wanting many examples of humility and of charity.

[23] Finally, with GOD's blessing, we brought the Heretics, who, evidently through the preaching of

[23] Denique illud DEI beneficio obtentum est, vt Hæretici, qui nos antè velut monstra è suorū vide-licet ore Ministrorum reputabant, non solùm agnouerint suorum in hac re impostorum malitiam, sed etiam multis postea locis laudum nostrarum prædicatores extiterint; hic ergo summatim fuit noster in has terras ingreffus.

SEQVITVR iam ex initio propositis tertium, nimirum vt exponatur, quonam tandem loco rem Christianam his in locis offenderimus. Certé ante hoc tempus vix vnquam à Gallis vacatum fuit conuertēdis incolarum ad Christum animis. Obstabant multa. Nam & peregrinabantur huc tantum, non cōmorabantur: & qui commorari voluerunt, tam aduersis conflictati sunt casibus, vt ei rei dare operam sanè multam non potuerint. Deuehebantur duntaxat interdum non-nulli in Galliam, ibiq; baptizabantur, sed ijdem vt nec fatis instituti, & à pastoribus destituti, simul ac in has oras remigrauerant, ad folita prorsus & vſitata reueluebantur. Appulimus huc nos [24] vigesimā secundā Maij, ipso sacro Pentecostes die, anni huius CIC.XC.XI. Quo duntaxat anno is, quem sæpius appellare necesse est, D. Potrincurtius ad fedes hīc domiciliūmq; figendum peruererat, fecimq; Sacerdotem sæcularem aduexerat. Is Sacerdos per eum annum dicitur capita ferè centum baptimo initiauisse; in his celebrem inter Sagamos, & de quo nos infra plura dicemus, Henricum Membertou cum familia vniuersa, hoc est cum tribus liberis iam cōiugibus.

their own Pastors, regarded us as monsters, to recognize the malice of these impostors in this matter, so that they afterwards on many occasions stood up to proclaim our praises. Such, in brief, was our voyage to this land.

NOW FOLLOWS the third of the topics proposed in the beginning—the setting forth, namely, of the condition in which we found the Christian religion in this country. Certainly before this time scarcely any attention has ever been given by the French to converting the souls of the natives to Christ. There have been many obstacles. For the French only wandered through these regions, but did not remain here, and those who wished to remain were harassed by so many calamities that they assuredly could not give much thought to this matter. Some natives, it is true, were occasionally brought to France and baptized there, but these not being sufficiently instructed, and finding themselves without shepherds as soon as they returned to these shores, immediately resumed their former habits and traditions. We landed here [24] on the 22nd of May, on the holyday of Pentecost of this year 1611. In this very same year Sieur Potrincourt, whom I shall have occasion to mention several times, had come here to establish himself permanently, and had brought a secular Priest with him. This Priest, it is said, baptized nearly a hundred persons during the year, among them one of the most celebrated of the Chiefs, of whom we shall have to speak again later, Henry Membertou, with his whole family, that is, three children already married. But, since neither this Priest nor any one else knew their language, save so far as pertains to the merest necessities of intercourse

Sed, vt fit, cùm nec Sacerdos ipse, nec aliis quisquam linguam nôfset, nisi quâtum attinet ad vitæ & mercimoniorum necessitatem, erudiri videlicet neophyti non potuerunt.

Baptismum accipiebant velut facrum aliquod signum similitudinis & confœderationis cum Gallis. De Christo, de Ecclesia, de Fide ac Symbolo, mandatis DEI, oratione ac Sacramentis vix quidquam nouerant, ignari & crucis efformandæ, & ipsius nominis Christiani. Itaque nunc vulgò sciscitantibus nobis, Christianus es? negat optimus quisque, [25] scire se quid rogetur. Mutata interrogatione quærentibus, baptizatus es? Annuit vero ac propemodum sese iam Nortmannum pronuntiat; nam Gallos ferè omnes Nortmannos appellant. De cætero nulla omnino in Christianis à Gentilium ritu mutatio. Idem mores, confuetudo & vita, idem chorearum, rituum, cantuum, atque adeò beneficiorum vñus, prorbus antiqua omnia. De vno DEO & bonorum retributione docti sunt aliqua, sed quæ se ipsi semper ita audiuisse & credidisse profiteantur. Sacellum reperimus vnum valde angustum & miserum, sed nec profectò reliqua habitatio, vt in principijs, aut valde laxa aut commoda est.

Vnica hîc adeit D. Potrincurtij familia, sine feminis capita sumus viginti. Nos duo é Societate tugurio-lum habemus ligneum, in quo vix positâ mensâ com-mouere nos possimus. Et reliqua sunt huic certè habitationi ac nostræ professioni, hoc est, paupertati

and trade, the neophytes could of course not be instructed in our doctrines.

They accepted baptism as a sort of sacred pledge of friendship and alliance with the French. As regards Christ, the Church, the Faith and the Symbol, the commandments of GOD, prayer and the Sacraments, they knew almost nothing; nor did they know the sign of the cross or the very name of Christian. So, even now, whenever we ask any one, "Are you a Christian?" every one of them answers that he does not understand what [25] we are asking him. But when we change the form of our question and ask, "Are you baptized?" he assents and declares himself to be already almost a Norman, for they call the French in general Normans. In other respects there is almost no change from the religion of the Gentiles to Christianity. They keep up the same manners and traditions and mode of life, the same dances and rites and songs and sorcery; in fact, all their previous customs. Concerning the one GOD and the reward of the just, they have learned some things, but they declare that they had always heard and believed thus. We found one little chapel here, a very small and poor one, but the other dwellings also, as is to be expected among new settlers, are by no means large or commodious.

Sieur Potrincourt's family is the only one here; without the women we number twenty. We two of the Society have a wooden cabin in which we can scarcely turn around when we have a table in it. And everything else is certainly in keeping with our dwelling and our vocation in life, that is, poverty. God grant that from these humble beginnings may rise and greatly flourish the work of salvation; [26] to this we bend all our efforts, though, as we are but

cōsentanea. Vtinam ab humilibus principijs exurgat aliquādo, & efflorescat salus animorum; [26] huc incumbimus, sed vt languidi cultores non magno successu, qualis tamen, quantūsque is fuerit, hoc mihi iam narrandum est, quoniam id iam explicui, quod tertium erat ex propositis, videlicet quoniam in statu vineam hanc seu potiūs virgultum offenderimus.

PERVENIMVS huc (sicut antè numeratum est) vige-
simā secundā Maij. Itaque non multo plus hodie,
quām septem menses hic commorati sumus. Per hoc
igitur tempus, & domi aliqua gesta sunt, & foris.
Domi primūm dedimus operam, vt pro nostris viribus
officium Ecclesiasticum ne deesset. Nam Sacerdos
ille, qui huc ante nos aduenerat, à nostro statim
aduētu in Galliam sua ipse sponte & pro veteri desi-
derio remigravit. Dominicis festisque diebus solem-
nem missam & vesperas decantamus, cohortamur, &
nonnunquam procedimus, ipsis etiam nostrorum
filuicularum pueris cereos, vrceos, aut aliud quid
pium, quando hīc adfunt, præferentibus. Ita enim
paulatim nostris ceremonijs affuescunt. Solemnior
ea processio fuit, qua [27] sanctissimum Sacramentum
festo ipsi die cumtulimus. Ipse enim D. Potrincur-
tius fedulitatem in eo nostram collaudauit, sicut & in
facello, quantum potest, in tanta paupertate coor-
nando. Et quoniam animaduertimus eos, qui antè
baptizati effent, vix aliud quidquam cum baptisme,
niſi periculum maius fuscepiffe, prolectationem illam
proiectionémq; ad baptisma quomodocumq; offeren-

feeble workers, with no great success. What the nature and extent of this success has been I must now relate, since I have already treated my third topic, namely, the description of the state in which we found this vineyard, or rather this wildwood.

WE ARRIVED here, as already noted, on the 22nd of May. Accordingly, we have now sojourned here a little more than seven months. During this period we have accomplished some work both at home and abroad. Our first efforts we expended at home, so that, as far as it lay in our power, there might be no interruption of Religious services. For the secular Priest who had preceded us here, immediately on our arrival, of his own free will and in accordance with a long-cherished desire, had returned to France. On Sundays and holydays we celebrate solemn mass and vespers; we preach and sometimes have processions, the boys of our children of the forest carrying before us, when they are present here, tapers and censers and other sacred utensils. For thus, little by little, they become accustomed to our ceremonies. Our procession was, however, a more solemn one on the day of Corpus Christi when we carried about the [27] blessed Sacrament. Sieur Potrincourt himself praised highly our efforts in this, as well as in adorning our chapel as much as we could, in spite of our great poverty. Since we have observed that those who had been previously baptized had gotten scarcely anything else through their baptism than increased peril, we have restrained this eager inclination to administer this sacrament without discrimination, and we insist that no adult person shall receive it until he has the necessary understanding of his faith and his profession. So, as we have thus far been ignorant of the language and have been unable to explain our doctrines through

dum reiecumus, in eoque perfstamus, ne quis adultus ante necessariam suæ fidei professionisque cognitionem initietur. Ita cùm adhuc ignari linguae simus, neque per vllum interpretem enuntiare sacra nostra, aut scriptis mandare potuerimus, quantacumque in eo sit opera, vti sanè posita est plurima cursus nimirum Euangeliij in his haçtenus hæret vadis ac fyrtibus. Id suademos, vt infantes ad nos lustrandi afferantur, quod etiam DEI beneficio iam cœpit fieri. Duos baptizauimus, & tertiam puellam circiter nouennem. Hæc puella non magis morbo, quàm esurie neglectuque contabefcebat; folet enim hæc natio facilè defperare medicinam, [28] & desperatos prorsum abijcere, vt antè dictum est. Ergo hanc ita depositam à cognatis deposcimus ad baptismum, illi verò perlubenter eam nobis concedere, non ad baptismum solùm, sed etiam ad voluntatem, vt quæ, inquietabant, instar iam effet canis mortui. At nos, vt specimen daremus Christianæ pietatis, in separatum eam transfutimus tuguriolum, ibiqz eam aluimus & curauimus ipsi sedulò, institutámque quantum extremo periculo conflictanti neceffe effet, abluimus aquâ salutari. Nono demum post die abeuntem ad superos læta spe sumus prosecuti, cùm gauderemus cœlo iam nonnihil nostri laboris placere. Lætior exitus in alio fuit, sed exemplum non diffimile charitatis: hic est, secundò genitus celebris illius Sagami Membertou, quem antè diximus primū omnium Soricorum nostra sacra fuscepisse.

any interpreter, or to commit them to writing, howsoever great a labor that may prove — and it will certainly prove a great one — the course of the Gospel is, up to this point, embarrassed by these shoals and quicksands. We try to persuade the savages to bring their babes to us for baptism; and this, with God's blessing, they are beginning to do. We have baptized two boys, and a girl about nine years old. This girl was wasting away as much from hunger and neglect as from sickness; for this people very readily despair [28] of relief in sickness, and, as previously stated, soon abandon those whose recovery is deemed hopeless. Thus, when this girl was given up by her relatives, we asked that she be given us for baptism. They very willingly gave her to us, not only for baptism but to dispose of at our pleasure, as being, they said, no longer of more value than a dead dog. But we, to show them an example of Christian piety, carried her to a separate cabin and there fed her and cared for her; and, after teaching her as much as was necessary for one struggling with death, we cleansed her with the saving waters. On her death, nine days later, we entertained the glad hope that our labor had found some favor in heaven. We soon found opportunity for another deed of charity not dissimilar to this, though its result was more auspicious. This was in the case of the second son of that famous Chief Membertou, whom I have already mentioned as having received our doctrines first of all the Soriquois.

I went to visit this chief's son, who was already at death's door. I found that, in accordance with their old custom, they were holding a tabagie, that is, a solemn feast for the distribution of his property, so that after the entertainment he might, not like Jacob

Huius ego filium extremo iam discrimine periclitantem inuisi: reperio pro more veteri de ipsius bonis tabagiam, hoc est epulum solemne, ut scilicet post epulas non sicut Iacob benediceret suis, [29] sed valediceret, ac deinde cōclamaretur, & cōclamato canes præmitterentur ad interitū. Increpaui ego, vt potui, per interpretē paganicos hos mores in iam Christianis. Benignè respōdit pater ipse Membertou neophy whole se esse, verum imperarem; in mea potestate esse omnia. Negaui ego licitam esse illam occisionē canum, aut deplorati derelictionem; choreas, cantusvē funestos ægroto ipso inspectāte mihi non placere; ipsam aliqui tabagiam, & piam in extremis agētis consalutationem ac mandata permisi. Responderunt omnes sibi hoc fatis esse, reliqua sese reiecturos. Cæterum D. Potrincurtij nomine ippos inuitauit, ut ægrū in ipsius ædes deportarēt (aberat enim valde procul) sperare nos de misericordia DEI fore, vt conualescat, quō tandem intelligent falsas atq; impias esse, aut momoru suorū, hoc est fatidicorū denunciations. Paruerunt illi, atq; ad nos depositum triduo pōst, hoc est semi-animē detulerunt. Quid multa? Fecit dextera Dñi virtutem: non est mortuus, sed vixit; & nunc incolumis narrat opera [30] Dñi. Hoc exemplo commotus senior ipse Membertou cum eam invaletudinem sensisset, quæ postrema illi fuit, deportari ipse vltro ad nos voluit, atq; adeò in nostrum ipsorum tuguriolū, & si placet, in lectum ipsum alterius nostrū. Ibi decubentem quinq; dies prosecuti sumus omni

give them his blessing, [29] but might bid them farewell, after which they were to bewail his death and then to offer up a sacrifice of dogs. I rebuked as well as I could, through an interpreter, these pagan usages among a people who were already Christians. The father himself, Membertou, answered mildly that they were but neophytes; that I had but to command and that everything lay in my power. I said that this slaughtering of dogs was wrong, as well as this abandonment of the sick man for whom they were mourning; I added that these dances and death-songs in the very presence of the sick man displeased me, though I permitted them to hold their tabagie elsewhere, as well as to visit the dying man and learn his last wishes. All replied that this was enough for them, and that they would dispense with the rest. Moreover, in the name of Sieur Potrincourt I invited them to transport to his house the sick man (who was at a very great distance), and said that we hoped, with GOD's mercy, for his recovery, so that they might thus learn at last that the predictions of their medicine-men or prophets are false and impious. They obeyed, and the third day after brought to us the sufferer, whose life they had despaired of, in a half-dying condition. God's right hand exerted its power; he did not die, but lived, and now, completely recovered, relates what [30] God has done for him. Moved by this example, the elder Membertou himself, when he began to suffer from that sickness which was to be his last, desired of his own accord to be brought to us and to be received into our own cabin, and even, if it pleased us, to occupy one of our beds. He lay there five days, during which we performed every friendly and even every menial office. But on the sixth day,

nō folum officio, sed etiam famulatu. At sexto die cūm iam vxor eius aduenisset, & cerneret ipsa vix alteri nostrū, quo miserè humi decubaret, locum esse in tuguriolo derelictū, aliò suapte sponte demigravit, vbi & piam mortē obijt. Certè hunc reperimus (quippe Domini primitias ab hac gēte) præter cæteros mirabiliter solitū intrinsecus adeò moueri, multò vt ipse plus de nostra fide conciperet, quām quantū potuisset auditione accipere. Itaq̃ solebat ipse crebrò dictitare, valde optare se, vt citò linguā nossamus. Continuò. n. postquam id perdidicisset, se futurū apud gentem suam coelestis verbi ac doctrinæ prædicatorem. Deaderat ipse in mādatis, vt antiquo in monumēto cū demortua prius familia (quā sciebā paganicē obijisse) [31] sepeliretur. Ego rē improbaui, veritus scilicet, ne vel Galli, vel etiā Gētiles hoc interpretarētur in fidei nostræ iniuriā. Sed ille hoc respōdebat: ita sibi promissū fuisse, antequā Christo nomen daret, fore, vt locus cōsecraretur, & exemplū proferebat ex anteaactis non dissimile; alioqui. n. cōtrà se vereri, si nostro in coemeterio humaretur, ne sui deinceps locū refugerent, atq̃ ita nunquā ad nos redirent. Opposui ego contrà, q̄ potui, & mecum is, quo ferè solo vtor interprete, D. Biencurtius, fili⁹ D. Potrincurtij. Discessi mœstus: nihil. n. disputando profecerā. Extremā nihilominus vñctionem, ad quā paratus erat, non deneガui. Valuit vis Sacramēti: postridie D. Biencurtiū, mēq̃ magnopere aduocat, docet audiētibus omnib⁹ mutatā sibi sententiā, velle se nobiscū humari, suīsq̃

when his wife had also come, and when she saw that there was scarcely room left for one of us to find a wretched couch on the ground in our cabin, he, of his own accord, went elsewhere, and there died a pious death. We found, indeed, that this man (the first fruits of the Lord among this people) was, beyond all others, wont to be so wondrously moved within, that he apprehended much more of our faith than he could have learned from hearing us. Thus he used to say frequently that he ardently desired that we might soon know his language. He said that as soon as he had learned them thoroughly he would become the preacher of this heavenly word and doctrine among his people. He himself had commanded that he should be buried in the ancient burial-place of his family, with those who were already dead (who, I knew, had died as pagans). [31] I opposed this, fearing, of course, that the French and even the Gentiles might interpret this as an affront to our faith. But he answered that it had been promised him, before he gave himself to Christ, that this place should be consecrated; and he cited a past example of something of the sort, adding that he feared, on the contrary, that if he were buried in our cemetery his people might thenceforth avoid the place and thus never return to us. I opposed all the reasons I could, and so did Sieur de Biencourt, the son of Sieur de Potrincourt, he being almost my only interpreter. I went off sadly, for I had accomplished nothing by arguing. Nevertheless, I did not refuse him the extreme unction, for which he was prepared. The power of the Sacrament manifested itself; the next day he called eagerly for Sieur de Biencourt and myself, and told us in the hearing of all the others that he had changed his mind, and wished to be buried in our cemetery; and

pcipere, ne ideo locū refugiant ex veteri errore, quin poti⁹, è Christiani populi sapiētia magis ob eam ipsam cauffsam locū adament, frequentētque; ad pias vide-licet pro ipso preces effundēdas.

Pacem deinde cum Nostris iterum, [32] iterūmque commendauit, méq; adeò praeunte ac manum regente, singulis fuorum pio more benedixit: nec lōgè pōst extinctus est. Funus curatum magna ad exemplum pompā. Et certè diu inter hos populos tantæ aucto-ritatis Sagamus nō fuit. Quo magis est mirum, quo-modo in eo semper inuictus consilio perstiterit, etiam ante conuerzionem, ne plures vnquam simul vxores habere vellet.

Atque hæc domi gesta, nunc exeamus foras. Luf-traui ego cū Domino Biencurtio magnam totius regionis partem, hoc est totum id, quod antiqui Norumbedam appellabant, flumina etiam ingressus sum præcipua. Fructus is extitit, vt & cognosceremus, & cognosceremur; ipsique siluatici, qui nunquam antea Sacerdotē, aut sacra nostra viderant, inceperint ali-quid nostra de Religione apprehendere. Vbicunque ac quoties potuimus, infiniti pretij hostiam obtulimus Omnipotenti DEO, vt scilicet altari, tanquam sede sua posita, inciperet hoc sibi dominium seruator hominum vendicare; terrerētūrque ac fugarentur [33] usurpa-tione sua laruales tyranni. Et astiterunt frequenter Barbari magno semper silentio ac reuerentiâ. Inuisebam postea ipsorum casulas, orabam, ægris manus imponebam, cruciculas ænaes aut imagunculas dona-

to teach his people that they should not avoid the place in accordance with their old and erroneous notion, but rather, with the wisdom of a Christian people, should love and frequent it, in order to utter pious prayers for him.

Then he recommended to them again [32] and again to maintain peace with us, and also piously gave his blessing to certain of his people, I dictating the words and guiding his hand. A short time after, he died. We deemed it well to celebrate his funeral with great pomp. And certainly there has for a long time been no Chief of such great authority among these people. What is still more remarkable is that he always adhered firmly to his resolution never to have more than one wife at a time, even before his conversion.

Such are the things achieved at home; let us now consider what has been done elsewhere. I have explored with Sieur Biencourt a large part of this whole region—all that portion, namely, which the old geographers called Norumbega, including the principal rivers. The result is that not only have we come to know the country, but also to be known ourselves, and the savages, who had never before seen a Priest or the rites of our Religion, have begun to learn something concerning it. Wherever and whenever we could do so, we offered the priceless host to the Omnipotent GOD, so that the altar might be as a seat dedicated to the savior of men, whence he should begin to extend his dominion among this people, while their own hobgoblin tyrants are stricken with terror and driven [33] from their usurpation. The Savages have often been present, always profoundly silent and reverent. Afterwards I would visit their huts to pray and to lay hands on the sick; I gave

bam, ipsifq; de collo suspendebam, & quæ poteram diuina insinuabam. Excipiebant illi omnia perlibenter, signūmque Crucis me ducente conformabant, feréq; omnes pueri etiam me longè prosequabantur, vt ipsum sæpius iterarent. Semel contigit, vt quem ægrotum altero antè die inuferam, propemodūmque depositum audieram, pòst cernerē vegetum, hilarēmque, cruce sua gloriantem, & mihi vultu manūque gratulantem, vt suspicio magna sit, non solùm opem crucis fensisse, verum etiam agnouisse. Si quando in Gallicas naues incidebamus, vt sæpe incidimus, monita salutaria dabantur pro loci & temporis opportunitate: interdum etiam vectores expiabantur. Semel maxima quædam complurium mala, & animorum fortunarūmque labes auersa est per DEI gratiam: semel item [34] exitium certissimum, cædésque non paucorum. Reconciliatus quoque magni quidam Iuuenis & animi & spei. Is quòd sibi à D. Potrincurtio timeret, annum iam vnum cum Siluicolis eorum more atque vestitu pererrabat: & suspicio erat peioris quoque rei. Obtulit eum mihi DEVS, colloquor, denique post multa Iuuenis sepe mihi credit, deduco eum ad D. Potrincurtium, non pœnituit fidei datae, pax facta est maximo omnium gaudio, & Iuuenis postridie, antequam ad sacram Eucharistiam accederet, suapte ipse sponte à circumstantibus mali exempli veniam petijt. Iam verò vti superuacaneum est de nauigantibus dicere, quòd multa pericula mirabiliter euaserint; ita & de hic commorantibus, quòd multa

them little crosses of brass, or images, which I hung about their necks, and as far as possible I infused some religious notions into their minds. They received all these things very gladly, they made the sign of the Cross under my guidance, and nearly all the boys followed me a long distance in order to repeat it oftener. Once it happened that a savage whom I had visited a couple of days before, finding him sick and almost given up by his friends, as I heard, met me rejoicing and well, and glorying in his cross, manifesting his gratitude toward me with hands and countenance, so that I strongly suspected that he had not only experienced the help of the cross but even recognized it. Whenever we fell in with French vessels—and this often happened—salutary counsels were given to the men, in accordance with time and place; sometimes, too, the passengers made their confession. Sometimes calamities that threatened the welfare and fortune of many were averted through the grace of GOD; sometimes, too, [34] certain destruction and the slaughter of no small number. We have also succeeded in reclaiming a certain Young Man¹³ of great courage and hope who, through fear of Sieur de Potrincourt, has roamed about for a whole year with the Savages, adopting their ways and dress—not without suspicion, too, of something worse. The LORD brought about a meeting between us. I spoke with him, and at last he confided himself to me. I brought him to Sieur de Potrincourt; he did not repent of having placed faith in me; peace was made, to the great joy of all, and next day the young man, before receiving the holy Eucharist, of his own free will begged the pardon of those who surrounded him, for his evil conduct. But as it would be superfluous to speak of the many



fustineant. Quod aqua bibatur, nulla querela est: siquidem coepit iam nobis ante sex hebdomadas ita panis deficere, vt nunc detur in hebdomadam, quod antè dabatur in vnum diem. Nauim expectamus subsidio venturam. Interim Pistores ac Fabri magno scilicet nomine atque antiquo viuimus, & [35] incidi-
mus quibus vterque in grauem ægritudinem, sed Dominus supposuit manū suam. Nam neque id diu fuit, & semper altero decumbente, alter stetit. Ex-
perimur sanè, quantum sit onus vitæ necessitas, dum lignatum, dum aquatum imus, dum coquimus ipsi nobis, dum indumenta aut lauamus, aut reficimus, dum sarcimus tugurioli labes, dum in reliqua corporis cura necessariò detinemur. Inter hæc dies nobis, miserè, noctésque depereunt; illa nos spes consolatur ac fustentat, fore, vt qui subleuat abiectos DEVS, vili-
tatem ipse nostram pro sua quandoque misericordia non despiciat. Quamquā certè dum in subsidiorum inopiam, dum in asperitatem regionis & gentis mores, dum in difficultates rerum, & coloniæ conituendæ, dum in mille pericula obicēsq; vel maris vel hominum intendimus, somnium & idea Platonica videtur quod conamur. Demonstrarem hoc sigillatim, nisi hoc esset cum Hebraeis exploratoribus magis pro humanis viribus, quàm pro diuino auxilio, nec minus ex [36] animi languore, quàm ex rei veritate dicere: Terra hæc deuorat habitatores suos; nos locustæ sumus, cùm hic monstra sint de genere Giganteo. Sed enim tamen, quanticunque sint hi Gigantes, præ-

perils so miraculously escaped by our vessels, so would it be to speak of the many sufferings of those who sojourn here. We make no complaint of having to drink water; as for bread, in less than six weeks the supply ran so short that now no more is allowed for a week than formerly for a single day. We are awaiting a ship that is to bring supplies. In the meantime, as Bakers and Artisans, a great and ancient quality withal, [35] we continue living here, but we have each fallen seriously ill; however, the Lord sustained us with his hand. For this did not last long, and whenever one of us was sick the other was well. We feel, indeed, how great a burden it is to attend to all these household duties, in going for wood and water, in cooking, in washing and mending our clothes, in repairing our cabin, and in giving the necessary time and attention to other material cares. Thus our days and nights wretchedly slip away; but the hope consoles and sustains us that GOD, who raises up those who are cast down, will some time in his mercy not despise our unworthiness. Though, certainly, when we consider our lack of resources, the trying nature of the country, and the manners of the natives, the difficulties incident to our undertaking and those incident to the establishing of a colony, the thousand perils and impediments interposed by the sea or by our fellow men, our enterprise seems but a dream and a Platonic idea. I might set forth all these things one by one, if this were not to imitate the Hebrew explorers, and rather with regard to our human strength than to God's help, and no less through the [36] faintness of our own hearts than in accordance with the truth of things, to say: "This land devours its inhabitants; we are locusts, while there are here monsters of the race of Giants." But yet, however

ualebit ille Dauid in funda & lapide, qui conculcat terram in fremitu suo, & in furore obstupefacit gentes; ille IESVS hominum Seruator, qui benefacit terram & perficit eam, quantumcunque infirmata sit; ille verò, ille, vti speramus, benignitatis ac potentiae suae ducet esse, vt quod vaticinatus est Ifaias, *Exultet solitudo & floreat sicut lilium*: quemadmodum sapientiae pariterq; potentiae suae reputauit id, quod cernimus, vt cultissima imperia, atque omnibus elata viribus, & gloriâ, suae cruci atque humilitati subiugarentur. Amen ita sit. Atque hoc nostrum votum adiuuent comprecatione sua cœlites omnes, atque in primis cœlitum Regina & præses; adiuuet Ecclesia vniuersa, speciatimque Ecclesiæ pars illa, cui Paternitas vestra nutu diuino iam diu præest, Societas, votum meum; adiuuet oro atque obsecro [37] Paternitas vestra omni ope, suamque nobis ad id benedictionem piffissimam, si placet, largiatur. E portu Regali in noua Francia vltimo die Ianuarij Anni CIO. IOC.XI.

*Vestræ Paternitatis filius ac
seruus indignus*

PETRVS BIARDVS.

great these Giants be, that David with the sling and stone shall prevail against them, even he who tramples the earth under foot in his anger, and in his rage strikes terror into the senses of men; that JESUS, the Savior of mankind, who blesses the world and leads it toward perfection in spite of all its shortcomings; he, even he, as we hope, will deem it a thing worthy of his love and his power that, as Isaiah prophesied, *The solitude should exult and blossom like a lily*; even as he deemed it good in his wisdom and his power that, as we see, the most civilized empires in the height of power and glory should receive the yoke of his cross and his humility. Amen, so be it. And may all heaven with its prayers further this, our hope, and above all the glorious Queen of heaven; and my own prayers be aided, too, by the universal Church and especially by that portion of the Church over which, in accordance with God's will, your Reverence has so long presided — the Society; and I also pray and beseech [37] your Reverence to further it with all possible aid, and to be pleased to bestow on us toward this end in all charity your benediction. From port Royal, in new France, the last day of January, 1611.

*The son and unworthy servant
of Your Reverence*

PIERRE BIARD.

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[Facsimile of map of Port Royal, from "Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain" (Paris, 1613).]

XI

LESCARBOT'S RELATION DERNIÈRE
de ce qui s'est Passé au Voyage du Sieur de
Poutrincourt

PARIS: JEAN MILLOT, 1612

SOURCE: Reprinted from original in Harvard College
Library.

RELATION
DERNIERE
DE CE QVI S'EST
PASSE AV VOYAGE
DU SIEVR DE POUVRINCOURT
en la Nouuelle-France
depuis 20 mois ença.

Par MARC L'ESCARBOT *Advocat*
en Parlement.



A PARIS,
Chez JEAN MILLOT, devant
S. Barthelemy aux trois Couronnes.

M. D C X I I .

AVEC PRIVILEGE DU ROY

LAST RELATION
OF
WHAT TOOK PLACE
IN THE VOYAGE MADE
BY SIEUR DE POUTRINCOURT
to New France, twenty
months ago.

*By MARC LESCARBOT, Advocate in
Parliament.*

PARIS:
JEAN MILLOT, opposite St. Barthelemy, at
the Three Crowns.

M D C X I I .

BY ROYAL LICENSE.

Relation Derniere de ce qvi s'est passé av voyage dv sieur de Poutrincourt en la Nouelle-France depuis 20. mois ença.

PREFACE.

LE proverbe ancien est bien veritable, que les Dieux nous vendent toutes choses par labeur. Ceci se reconoit par experiance ordinaire en plusieurs choses, mais particulierement au fait duquel nous avons à parler: auquel donne sujet par ses incomparables vertus le sieur de Poutrincourt, de qui les labours plus que Herculeans ont dés y a long temps merité vne bien ample fortune, & y eust donné attainte au temps de nos troubles derniers, s'il n'eust esté trop entier à maintenir le party qu'il auoit embrassé. Car le Roy le tenant en personne assiegé dans le chateau de Beaumont [4] lui voulut donner le Comté dudit lieu pour se rendre à son service. Ce qu'ayant refusé, il le fit toutefois peu apres gratuitement voyant sa Majesté reduit à l'Eglise Catholique Romaine. Vray est que nostre feu Roy HENRI le Grand l'auoit obligé en vne chose, c'est d'avoir rendu par sa bouche ce temoignage de lui, qu'il estoit vn des plus hommes de bien, & des plus valeureux de son royaume. Suiuant quoy aussi apres noz guerres passées, lui qui naturellement est porté aux entrepris difficiles, fuiant la vie oisive, auroit recherché l'occasion de faire plus que devant paroître son courage, honorer son Prince, & illustrer sa patrie. Ce qu'il auroit fait

Last Relation of what took place in the voyage
made by sieur de Poutrincourt to New
France, twenty months ago.

PREFACE.

THE old proverb is true that the Gods sell us all things for work. This may be recognized in many of the ordinary events of life, but especially in the matter of which we are about to speak, and for which we have a subject in the incomparable virtues of sieur de Poutrincourt, whose more than Herculean labors have for a long time deserved a very ample fortune, which he might have succeeded in acquiring during our late struggles, had he not been too entirely devoted to the party which he had embraced. For the King, holding him besieged in person in Beaumont castle, [4] wished to give him the County thereof to attach him to his service. Refusing the gift at this time, he nevertheless accepted it freely soon afterwards, when he learned that his Majesty had embraced the faith of the Roman Catholic Church. It is true that our late King HENRY the Great had rendered him one service; that is, he had testified with his own lips that he was one of the most honorable and valiant men in his kingdom. Again, after our recent wars, being naturally attracted to difficult enterprises and shunning a life of idleness, he sought some occasion to more effectually show his courage, to honor his Prince, and to glorify his country. This he did by meeting sieur de

par la rencontre du sieur de Monts, lequel en l'an 1603. entreprenoit le voyage de la France Nouvelle & Occidentale d'outre mer, avec lequel il se ioignit pour y reconoistre vne terre propre à habiter & y rendre service a Dieu & au Roy. A quoy il a depuis travaillé continuellement & eust desia beaucoup avancé l'œuvre, si sa facilité ne se fust trop fiée à des hommes trompeurs, qui lui ont fait perdre son temps & son argent. Voire encore estant Gentilhomme indomtable à la fatigue, & sans crainte aux hazars, il se pourroit promettre vn assez prompt avancement à son entreprise s'il n'estoit troublé par l'avarice de ceux qui lui enlevent la graisse de sa terre sans y faire habitation, & avides des Castors de ce païs là y vont exprés pour ce sujet, & ont fait à l'envi l'un de l'autre que chacune peau de Castor (qui est le traffic le plus [5] present de ces terres) vaut icy auiourd'hui dix liures, qui se pourroit bailler pour la moitié, si le commerce d'icelles estoit permis à vn seul. Et au moyen de ce pourroit prendre fondement la Religion Chrestienne par dela; comme certes elle y auroit esté fort avancée, si telle chose eust esté faite. Et la confideration de la Religion & de l'establissement d'un païs dont la France peut tirer du profit & de la gloire, merite bien que ceux qui l'habitent iouissent pleinement & entierement des fruits qui en proviennent, puis que nul ne contribuë à ce dessein pour le foulagement des entrepreneurs, lesquels au peril de leurs vies & de leurs moyens ont découvert par dela tant les orées maritimes, que le profond des terres, où iamais aucun Chrétien n'avoit esté. Il y a vne autre confideration que ie ne veux mettre par écrit, & laquelle feule doit faire accorder ce que dessus à ceux qui se presentent

Monts,¹³ who, in the year 1603, undertook the voyage to New and Western France beyond the sea; and by associating himself with him, to find a suitable place where he could settle down, and there render service to God and the King. To this end he has labored continually ever since, and would have already greatly advanced the work, had not his amiable nature been imposed upon by dishonest men, who have been the cause of great losses to him in time and money. But, as he was a Gentleman not to be conquered by hardships, and fearing no dangers, he might have been sure of prompt advancement in his work had he not been hindered by the greed of those who robbed him of the fat of his lands, without making any settlement there. These people, eager to get the Beaver skins of that country, go there for no other purpose; and so compete with each other, that they have caused every Beaver skin (which is the chief traffic [5] of these regions) to be worth here to-day ten livres, when they might have been sold for one-half that price, if the traffic therein had been limited to one person. In this way the Christian Religion might have also been established there; and it certainly would have been greatly advanced, if such a course had been pursued. Also for the sake of Religion and of permanent colonization, from which France can derive both profit and glory, it is well that those who settle there should enjoy fully and wholly the advantages guaranteed by them; since no one does anything in this direction for the sake of the leaders of the enterprise, who, at the risk of their lives and their fortunes, have discovered coasts and interior lands where no Christian had ever been. There is another consideration which I do not wish to set down in writing, and which alone ought to ob-

& offrent pour habiter & defendre la province, voire pour donner du secours à toute la France de deça. C'a esté vne plainte faite de tout temps, que les considerations particulieres ont ruiné les affaires du general. Ainsi est-il à craindre qu'il n'en avienne en l'affaire des Terres-neuves, si nous la negligeons, & si l'on ne soustient ceux qui d'une resolution immuable f'exposent pour le bien, l'honneur, & la gloire de la France, & pour l'exaltation du nom de Dieu, & de son Eglise.

[6] VOYAGE EN LA TERRE-NEUVE.

I'ay rapporté en mon histoire de la Nouvelle France ce qui est des deux premiers voyages faits outre mer par le sieur de Poutrincourt. Ici i'ay à écrire ce qui s'est ensuiui és voyages subsequens. Depuis quelques années vne succeſſion lui est echeuë a cause de Dame Iehanne de Salazar sa mere, qui est la Baronne de Sainct Iust en Champagne. Les rivières de Seine & d'Aulbe rendent le lieu de cette Baronne autant agréable, que fort & avantageux à la defense. Là au commencement de Février mil six cens dix il fit partie de son équipage, y ayant chargé vn bateau de meubles, viures, & munitions de guerre, voire tellement chargé qu'il n'y restoit que deux doigts de bord hors de l'eau. Cependant la rivière estoit enflée & ne se pouuoit plus tenir en son liet à cause des longues pluies hivernales. Les flots le menaçoient fouuent, les perils y estoient prefens, mesmement és passages de Nogent, Corbeil, Sainct Clou, Ecorche-veau, & autres où des bateaux perirent à sa veuë, sans qu'il fust aucunement emeu d'apprehension. En fin il parvint à Dieppe, & apres quelque séjour il se mit en mer le 26.

tain the above-mentioned privileges to those who present and offer themselves to settle and defend the province, and indeed to give assistance to the entire French colony over there. There has always been a complaint that affairs of general importance are ruined by giving too much attention to the consideration of personal interests. It is to be feared this may be the case in the affairs of the new World, if we neglect them, and do not encourage those who, with an unchangeable purpose, take great risks for the welfare, the honor, and the glory of France, and for the exaltation of the name of God, and of his Church.

[6] VOYAGE TO THE NEW WORLD.

I related in my history of New France what happened in the first two voyages made by sieur de Poutrincourt to the lands beyond the sea. Here I shall give an account of what took place in the subsequent voyages. Some years ago an inheritance, the Barony of Saint Just, in Champagne, fell to Sieur de Poutrincourt through his mother, Lady Jehanne de Salazar. The Seine and Aulbe rivers render the situation of this domain as beautiful as it is strong and eligible for defense. Here, in the beginning of February, one thousand six hundred and ten, he partly equipped his ship, loading it with furniture, provisions, and munitions of war; and, indeed, so freighted it down that the sides were only two finger-lengths out of the water. Meanwhile, the river had risen until it could no longer be confined in its bed, on account of the long winter rains. Often threatened by floods and by imminent perils in the passages from Nogent, Corbeil, Saint Clou, Ecorche-veau and other places, where vessels were wrecked before his eyes, he was not in the least

dudit mois de Février. Plusieurs en cette ville là be-
nisoient son voyage, & prioient Dieu pour la pro-
perité d'icelui. La saifon estoit rude, & les vents le
plus souvent contraires. Mais on peut bien appeler
vn [7] voyage heureux, quand en fin on arrive à bon
port. Ils ne furent gueres loin qu'ils rencontrerent
^a Forbans
ce sont
Pyrates.
vers le Casquet vn nauire de Forbans,^a lesquels voy-
ans ledit Sieur & ses gens bien resolus de se defendre
si on les attaquoit, passeroent outre. Le 6. de Mars ils
rencontrerent vnze navires Flamens, & se saluerent
l'un l'autre de chacun vn coup de canon. Depuis le
8. iusques au 15. il y eut tempéte, durant laquelle vne
fois ledit Sieur estant couché à la poupe, fut porté de
son lict pardeffus la table au lict de son fils. Ce mau-
vais temps les fit chercher leur route plus au Su,^b &
virent deux iles des Effores, Corbes, & Flore, là où
ils eurent le rafraichissement de quelques Marfoins
qu'ils prindrent. Et comme l'on dit que de la guerre
vient la paix, Ainsi apres ces tourmentes ils eurent
des calmes iusques au iour de Pasques Fleuries plus
facheux que les tourmentes: car quoy qu'on soit en
repos, il n'y a pourtant fujet de contentement: car les
vivres se mangent, & la faifon de bien faire se passe:
bref vn grand calme est fort mauvais fur la mer.
Mais cela n'est point perpetuel: & quelquefois (selon
l'inconstance d'Eole) apres le calme suit vn vent fa-
voriable, tantost vne tempéte, comme il survint vn peu
apres (sçauoir le lendemain de Pasques) laquelle fit
faire eau à la soute, qui est le magazin du pain, ou
biscuit. Occasion que le Charpentier du navire vou-
lant aller remedier au mal avenu, d'autant qu'en fai-
sant ce qui est de son art il troubloit les prières pub-
liques qui se faifoient du matin, ledit Sieur lui

^b Su, c'est
Midi.

affected by fear. At last he arrived at Dieppe, and, after a sojourn there, he put to sea upon the 26th of this same month of February. Many people of that city wished him well in his voyage and prayed God for its success. The season was stormy, and contrary winds prevailed the greater part of the time. But we may indeed call a [7] voyage fortunate, which brings us at last safe into port. They were not far away when they met, in the direction of Casquet,¹⁴ a ship of Forbans,^a who, seeing that the Sieur and his crew were all ready to defend themselves if attacked, sailed on past them. On the 6th of March they met eleven Flemish ships, and they saluted each other by a discharge of cannon. From the 8th to the 15th there was a tempest, during which the Sieur, who was lying down on the poop, was thrown from his bed, over the table, to that of his son. This bad weather made them turn their route more to the South,^b where they saw two of the Esores islands, Corbes and Flore; and there they had some fresh food by catching a few Porpoises. And as, according to the old saying, peace follows war, so, after these storms, there were calms more trying than the tempests, until Palm Sunday; for then, although there was rest, there was no satisfaction in it, for the food was being consumed and the good season was passing away; in short, a great calm is a very harmful thing upon the sea. But it does not last always; and sometimes (according to the fickle moods of Æolus) after the calm comes a favorable wind, sometimes a tempest; as happened shortly afterwards (namely, the day after Easter), and this caused a leak in the soute, which is the storeroom for bread or biscuit. Now the ship's carpenter, who went to repair the leak, while doing what his trade demanded, inter-

^a Forbans
are pirates.

^b South,
that is,
Meridian.

commanda [8] de besongner par le dehors, là où estant allé il trouva le Gouvernail rompu (chose dangereuse) lequel voulant aller racoutrer, comme il estoit à sa besongne,^a il tomba de son echaffaut dedans la mer. Et bien vint que le temps f'estoit ammodéré: car autrement c'estoit vn homme perdu. Mais il fut garenti par la diligence des matelots, qui lui tendirent vne corde, par laquelle il se sauva.

Le 11. de May la fonde fut iettée, & se trouva fond à 80.^b brasses: indice que l'on estoit sur le Banc des Moruës. Là ils s'arrêtèrent pour auoir le rafraichissement de la pecherie soit des poisssons, soit des oiseaux qui sont abondamment sur ledit Banc, ainsi que i'ay amplement décrit en madite Histoire de la Nouvelle France. Le Banc passé, apres auoir soutenu plusieurs vents contraires, en fin ils terrirent vers Pemptegoet^c (qui est l'endroit que noz Geographes marquent soubs le nom de Norombega) & fit dire la Messe ledit Sieur en vne Isle qu'il nomma de l'Afcension, pour y estre arrivé ce iour là. De ce lieu ils vindrent à Sainte Croix premiere habitation de noz François en cette côte, là où ledit Sieur fit faire des prières pour les trespassez qui y estoient enterrez dés le premier voyage du sieur de Monts en l'an 1603. & furent au haut de la riviere dudit lieu de Sainte Croix, où ils trouverent telle quantité de Harens à chaque marée, qu'il y en avoit pour nourrir toute vne grosse ville. En autres faisons il y vient d'autres poisssons. Mais lors c'estoit le tour aux Harens. Là mesme il y a des arbres d'inestimable [9] beauté en hauteur & grosseur. Sur cette même côte, devant qu'arriver au Port Royal^d ils virent les ceremonys funebres d'un corps mort decedé en la terre des Etechemins. Le

^a Peril dvn
charpen-
tier.

^b Voy
l'Hist. de
la Nouv.
France
liv. 4.
chap. 12.

^c Au même
liv.
ch. 7.

^d Ceremo-
nies de
funerailles.

ferred with the public prayers which were being offered in the morning, and the Sieur commanded him [8] to do his work outside. He obeyed, and there found the Rudder broken (which is a very dangerous thing); wishing to readjust it, while he was engaged in the work,^a he fell from his scaffolding into the sea. And it was well that the weather had moderated; for otherwise there would have been a man lost. But he was rescued by the efforts of the sailors, who threw him a rope by which he saved himself.

On the 11th of May, the sounding lead was cast, and bottom was found at 80^b fathoms; a sign that they were upon the Codfish Banks. There they stopped to obtain fresh food, either fish or birds, which are abundant upon these Banks, as I have described fully in my History of New France. When the Banks were passed, after having encountered several contrary winds, at last they landed in the neighborhood of Pemptegoet,^c (the place that our Geographers designate by the name Norembega);¹⁵ and the Sieur caused Mass to be said upon an Island, which he called Ascension, because they arrived there upon that day. Thence they came to Sainte Croix,¹⁶ the first settlement of our French upon this coast, where the Sieur had prayers offered for the dead who had been buried there since the first voyage made by sieur de Monts, in the year 1603. Then they went up the river Sainte Croix, where they found such a great number of Herrings at every tide, that they had enough to feed a whole city. During the other seasons there are other kinds of fish, but at that time it was the Herring season. Also there are trees there of [9] indescribable beauty, height, and grandeur. Upon this same coast, before reaching Port Royal,^d they saw the funeral ceremonies over the corpse of a

^a Peril of
a carpen-
ter.

^b See His-
tory of New
France
book 4.
ch. 12.

^c In the
same book
ch. 7.

^d Funeral
ceremonies.

defunct estoit couché sur vn ais appuyé de quatre fourches, & fut couvert de peaux. Le lendemain arrive là grande assemblée d'hommes, lesquels danserent à leur mode alentour du decedé. Vn des anciens tenoit vn long baton, où il y avoit pendues trois têtes de leurs ennemis; D'autres avoient d'autres marques de leurs victoires: & en cet etat chanterent & danserent deux ou trois heures, disans les louanges du mort au lieu du *Libera* que disent les Chrétiens. Apres chacun lui fit don de quelque chose, comme de peaux, chaudieres, pois, haches, couteaux, fleches, ^a*Matachiaz* & autres hardes Toutes les quelles ceremoniesachevées, on le porta en sepulture en vne ile à l'écart loin de la terre ferme. Et au partir de là tira ledit Sieur au Port Royal lieu de son habitation.

RELIGION.

Le sieur de Poutrincourt n'eut à-peine pris haleine apres tant de travaux, qu'il envoya chercher Member-tou premier & plus ancien Capitaine de cette contrée, pour lui rafrechir la memoire de quelques enseignemens de la Religion Chrétienne que nous lui avions autrefois [10] donné, & l'instruire plus amplement es choses qui concernent le salut de l'ame, afin que cetui-ci reduit, plusieurs autres à son exemple fissent le même. Comme de fait il arriva. Car apres avoir esté catechisé, & les siens avec lui, par quelque temps, il fut baptisé, & vingt autres de sa troupe, le iour sainct Iehan Baptiste 1610. les noms desquels i'ay enrollé en mon Histoire de la Nouvelle France^b felon qu'ils sont écrits au registre des baptêmes de l'Eglise metropolitaine de dela, qui est au Port Roy-

^a*Matachiaz, ce sont car-
quans,
echarpes, &
bracelets.*

^b*Liv. 5.
ch. 5. pa.
638.*

savage who had died in the land of the Etechemins. The body was resting upon a plank supported by four stakes, and covered with skins. The next day, a great crowd of men arrived, who performed their customary dances around the corpse. One of the old men held a long pole, upon which were dangling three of their enemies' heads; others carried other trophies of their victories; and thus they continued to sing and dance for two or three hours, chanting the praises of the dead instead of the *Libera* of Christians. Afterwards each one made him a gift of some kind, such as skins, kettles, peas, hatchets, knives, arrows,
^a *Matachiaz*,¹⁷ and articles of apparel. When all these ceremonies were finished, they carried him for burial to an isolated island, far from the mainland. And, leaving there, the Sieur sailed for Port Royal, the place of his residence.

^a *Matachiaz*
are neck-
laces,
scarfs and
bracelets.

RELIGION.

Sieur de Poutrincourt had hardly taken breath after so many labors, when he sent for Membertou, chief and oldest Captain of this country, to refresh his memory in regard to some of the principles of the Christian Religion, which we had [10] previously taught him, and to instruct him more fully in things which concern the salvation of the soul; so that, he being converted, many others might follow his example. As in truth it came to pass. For after having been catechized for some time, and his family with him, he was baptized, as were also twenty others of his company, upon saint John the Baptist's day, 1610. I have enrolled their names in my History of New France,^b just as they are written over there in the baptismal register of the mother-Church, which is at Port Royal. The Pastor who accomplished this

^b Book 5.
ch. 5.
page 638.

al. Le Pasteur qui fit ce chef d'œuvre fut Messire Ieffe Fleuche natif de Lantage, dioceſe de Langres, homme de bonnes lettres, lequel avoit pris ſa miffion ^a de Monsieur le Nonce du Sainct Pere Euesque de Rome, qui eſtoit pour lors, & eſt encore à Paris. Non qu'un Euéque Franſois ne l'eufſt peu faire : mais ayant fait ce choix, ie croy que ladite miffion eſt auſſi bonne de lui (qui eſt Evéque) que d'vn autre, encore qu'il foit étranger. Toutefois i'en laiffe la cōſideration à ceuq qui y ont plus d'intereſt que moy, eſtant chose qui fe peut diſputer d'une part & d'autre, parce qu'il n'eſt pas ici en ſon dioceſe. Ledit Seigneur Nonce, dit Robert Vbaldin, lui bailla permiffion d'ouir par dela les confeſſions de toutes personnes, & les abſoudre de tous pechés & crimes non reſervés exprefſement au ſiege Apoſtolique; & leur enioindre des penitences felon la qualité du peché. En outre lui donna pouvoiſ de confacer & benir des chafubles & autres vétemens ſacerdotaux, & des paremens d'auteſ, excepté [11] des Corporaliſers, Calices, & Paténes. C'eſt ainsи que ie l'ay leu fur les lettres de ce octroyées audit Fleuche premier Patriarche de ces terres là. Je di patriarche, par ce que communement on l'appelloit ainsи: & ce mot l'a deu ſemondre à mener vne vie pleine d'integrité & d'innocence, comme ie croy qu'il a fait. Or ces baptizailles ne furent fans ſolennités. Car Membertou (& conſequemment ^b les autres) avant qu'eſtre introduits en l'Egliſe de Dieu, ſit vne reconnoiſſance de toute ſa vie paſſée, confeſſa ſes pechés, & renonça au diable, auquel il avoit ſervi. Là deſſus chacun chanta le *Te Deum* de bon courage, & furent les canons tirés avec grand plaisir, à-caufe des Echoz qui durent audit Port Royal, près d'un

^a confession
de Foy de
Membertou.

master-piece [*chef d'œuvre*] was Messire Jesse Fleuche, a native of Lantage, in the diocese of Langres; he is a scholarly man, and received his commission ^a from Monsieur, the Ambassador of the Holy Father, the Bishop of Rome, who was then, and is still, in Paris. Not that a French Bishop might not have given it to him; but, as this one was chosen, I believe the said commission is as good from him (since he is a Bishop), as from another, although he is a stranger. However, I leave the consideration of this matter to those who have more interest in it than I have, it being a question that admits of dispute on both sides, since here he is not in his diocese. This Ambassador, called Robert Ubaldin,¹⁸ gave him permission to hear confessions from all people over there, and to absolve them from all sins and crimes not strictly reserved to the Apostolic see; and to impose upon them penances, according to the character of the sin. Furthermore, he gave him power to consecrate and bless the chasubles, and other priestly vestments, and the altar furnishings, except [11] the Corporals, Chalices, and Patens. It is thus that I have seen it stated in the credentials granted to the said Fleuche, first Patriarch of those lands. I say patriarch, because that is what he was generally called: and this was an incentive to him to lead a life full of integrity and innocence, as I believe he has done. Now these baptismal ceremonies were not without solemnity. For Membertou (and consequently^b the others), before being introduced into the Church of God, made an examination of all his past life, confessed his sins, and renounced the devil, whom he had served. Then each one joined heartily in singing the *Te Deum*, and there was a joyful discharge of cannon, so that the Echoes lingered in Port Royal

^a Commiss-
sion.

^b Confession
of Mem-
bertou.

quart d'heure. C'est vne grande grace que Dieu a fait à cet homme d'avoir receu le don de la Foy, & de la lumiere Evangelique, en l'âge où il est parvenu, qui est à mon avis de cent dix ans ou plus. Il fut nommé HENRI du nom de nostre feu Roy HENRI le Grand. D'autres furent nommez des noms du sainct Pere le Pape de Rome, de la Royne, & Messeigneurs & Dames fes enfans, de Monsieur le Nonce, & autres signalez perfonnages de deça, lesquels on print pour parrins, comme ie l'ay écrit en madite Histoire.^a

^aPa. 638.

Mais ie ne voy point que ces parrins se soient souvenus de leurs filieuls, ni qu'ils leur ayent envoyé aucune chose pour les sustenter, ayder, & encourager à demeurer fermes en la Religion qu'ils ont receuë: Car pour du pain on leur fera croire ce que l'on voudra, & peu à peu leur terre [12] estant cultivée les nourrira. Mais il les faut ayder du commencement. Ce qu'a fait le sieur de Poutrincourt tant qu'il a peu, voire outrepassant son pouvoir il en a ieusné par apres, comme nous dirons ailleurs.

RETOUR EN FRANCE.

Trois semaines apres l'arrivée dudit Sieur en sa terre du Port Royal il avisa de renvoyer en France le Baron de sainct Iust son fils ainé, ieune Gentilhomme fort experimenté à la marine, & lequel à cette occasion Monsieur l'Admiral a honoré du tiltre de Vice-Admiral en la mer du Ponant és côtes de dela. Car ayant a nourrir beaucoup d'hommes au moins l'espace d'un an & plus, attendant vne cueillette de blez, il estoit besoin d'une nouvelle charge de vivres & marchandises propres au commun usage tant de lui & des siens, que des Sauvages. Il le fit donc partir le 8.

nearly a quarter of an hour. God has shown great mercy in granting that this man should receive the gift of Faith, and the light of the Gospel, at the age to which he has attained, which is, I believe, one hundred and ten years, or more. He was named HENRY, after our late King, HENRY the Great. Others were given the names of the holy Father, the Pope of Rome, of the Queen, of my Lords and Ladies, her children, of Monsieur the Nuncio, and of other notable personages over here, who have been chosen as godparents, as I have written in my History.^a ^a *Page 638.*

But I do not see that these godparents have remembered their children, nor that they have sent them anything to support, aid, and encourage them in remaining firm in the Religion which they have accepted: for, if you give them bread, you can make them believe almost anything you wish; when, little by little, their land [12] is cultivated, they will derive from it their support. But they must be assisted in the beginning. Sieur de Poutrincourt has done this as far as he was able, even going beyond his means, for which he fasted afterwards, as we shall relate elsewhere.

RETURN TO FRANCE.

Three weeks after the Sieur's arrival at his estates in Port Royal, he made up his mind to send back to France his eldest son, the Baron de saint Just, a young Gentleman who is well versed in seamanship, and whom, upon this occasion, Monsieur the Admiral has honored with the title of Vice-Admiral of the Western ocean and its more distant coasts. For, being obliged to furnish food for a great many men at least during the space of a year and more, while wait-

Iuillet, lui enioignant d'estre de retour dans quatre mois, & le conduisit dans vne Pinasse, ou grande chaloupe environ cent lieuës loin. En cette faison on a beau rire le long de la côte. Car il y a des iles en grand nombre vers le Cap Fourchu, & le Cap de Sable si pleines d'oiseaux, qu'il ne faut qu'affommer & charger, & avec ce le poisson y foisonne en telle sorte, qu'il ne faut que ietter la ligne en mer & la retirer. La contrariété du vent les ayant plusieurs fois [13] constraint de mouiller l'ancre parmi ces iles, leur fit faire epreuve de ce que ie di. Ainsi ledit de fainct Iust s'en alla rengeant la terre l'espace de deux cens lieuës, iusques à ce qu'il eut passé l'ile de Sable, ile dangereuse pour estre baffe & fans port assuré, siue a vingt lieuës de la terre ferme vis à vis la terre de Baccaillos. Le 28. de Iuillet il estoit sur le Banc^a aux Moruës, là où il se rafraichit de vivres, & rencontra plusieurs navires de noz havres de France, & vn Anglois, d'où il eut la premiere nouvelle de la mort de notre grand Roy HENRI. Ce qui le troubla & sa compagnie, tant pour l'accident si funeste de cette mort, que de crainte qu'il n'y eust du trouble pardeça. Le Dimanche premier iour d'Aoust ils quitterent ledit Banc, le 20. eurent la veue de la terre de France, & le 21. entrerent dans le port de Dieppe.

AUANCEMENT DE LA RELIGION.

Comme le sieur de Poutrincourt fuivoit la côte conduisant son fils sur le retour, il trouva quelques Sauvages de conoissance en vne ile, où ils s'estoient cabannez, faisans pécherie: lesquels ayant abordé, ils en furent tout ioyeux: Et apres quelques propos tenus de Membertou, & des autres, & de ce qui s'estoit passé

ing for the wheat crop, he needed a new supply of provisions and merchandise suitable for general use, both for himself and his people, and for the Savages. So he had him leave on the 8th of July, enjoining him to be upon his return voyage in four months; and he accompanied him in a Pinnace, or large boat, for about one hundred leagues. At this season it is pleasant to sail along the coast, for there are a great many islands in the neighborhood of Cape Fourchu¹⁹ and Cape Sable, which are so full of birds, that all there is to do is to knock them down and reload; also, fish are so plentiful, that it is only necessary to throw out the line and draw it in. Contrary winds having several times [13] forced them to cast anchor among these islands, this gave them an opportunity of verifying what I have said. So saint Just continued to coast along for two hundred leagues, until he had passed Sable island,²⁰ a dangerous place because it is low and has no safe harbor; it is twenty leagues from the mainland opposite the land of Baccaillos.²¹ On the 28th of July, he reached the Codfish^a Banks, where he obtained fresh food and met several ships from our French ports, and one English ship, whence he received the first news of the death of our great King HENRY. This grieved him and his crew, on account of the sad circumstances surrounding the death, and because they feared trouble might arise from it. Sunday, the first day of August, they left these Banks; on the 20th they sighted the land of France, and on the 21st entered the port of Dieppe.

PROGRESS OF RELIGION.

As sieur de Poutrincourt sailed along the coast, while accompanying his son upon his return, he found

* See History of New France, book 4. ch. 12.

^a *Acte de pieté.*

en leurs baptizailles,^a il leur demanda s'ils vouloient point estre comme luy, & croire en Dieu pour estre aussi baptizés; A quoy ils [14] s'accorderent apres avoir esté instruits. Et là deffus il les envoya au Port Royal pour estre plus à loisir confirmés en la Foy & doctrine Evangelique: là où estans ils furent baptizés. Cependant ledit Sieur poursuivoit sa route allant toujours avant le long de la côte, tant qu'il vint au Cap de la Héve, environ lequel endroit il laissa aller à la garde de Dieu ledit sieur de fainct Iust son fils, & virant le cap en arriere cingla vers la riviere dudit lieu de la Héve, qui est vn port large de plus de deux lieuës & long de six, cuidant y trouver vn Capitaine dés long temps appellé Martin par noz François. Mais il s'en estoit retiré, à-cause de quelque mortalité là survenuë par des maladies dysenteriaques. Depuis, ledit Martin ayant entendu que ledit Sieur lui avoit fait tant d'honneur que de l'aller chercher, il le suivit à la piste avec trente-cinq ou 40. hommes, & le vint trouver vers le Cap de Sable pour le remercier d'une telle visite. Ledit Sieur homme accort & benin le receut humainement, encores qu'au paravant en l'an 1607. il y eust eu quelque colere contre lui, sur ce que passant icelui Sieur par ledit lieu de la Héve foible de gens, & se voyant environné de trois chaloupes de Sauvages pleines de peuple, il les fit ranger toutes d'un côté. Sur quoy ledit Martin ayant dit qu'il avoit donc peur d'eux, il fut en danger de voir par effet que sa conclusion estoit fausse. A cette derniere rencontre ledit Martin fut caressé & invit  à se faire Chr tien, comme Membertou, & ^b plusieurs autres: & [15] s'en aller au Port Royal pour y recevoir plus ample instruction. Ce qu'il promit

^b *Acte de pieté.*

some Savages whom he knew, encamped upon an island and engaged in fishing; they were overjoyed at his arrival, and after some talk about Membertou and others, and about what had taken place at their baptism,^a he asked them if they did not wish to be like him, to believe in God and be baptized: this they [14] agreed to do after they had been instructed. And thereupon he sent them to Port Royal, where more time could be given to confirm them in the Faith and doctrines of the Gospel; they went there and were baptized. Meanwhile the Sieur continued on his way, always following the coast, until he came to Cape de la Héve, near which place he consigned his son, sieur de saint Just, to the care of God; and, veering around the cape, he sailed toward the river of la Héve, which forms a port more than two leagues wide and six leagues long, expecting to find there a Chief, whom the French had for a long time called Martin. But he had gone away, on account of the deaths which had occurred there from some form of dysentery. Afterwards, this Martin, having heard that the Sieur had done him the honor of coming to visit him, followed him up with thirty-five or forty men, and near Cape Sable overtook him and thanked him for this visit. The Sieur, who is a pleasant and agreeable gentleman, received him kindly; although some time before, in the year 1607, he had been somewhat angry at him, because when he, (the Sieur), with only a few men, was passing this same la Héve, seeing himself surrounded by three canoes full of Savages, he made them all get in line upon one side. Thereupon, Martin having remarked that the Sieur was afraid of them, the former was, in fact, in danger of seeing that his conclusion was wrong. At this last

^a *Act of piety.*

faire avec sa troupe. Et d'autant que les Sauvages ne vont iamais voir leurs amis les mains vuides, il alla à la chasse, afin de porter de la venaifon audit lieu: & cependant ledit Sieur s'avance & va devant pour les y attendre. Mais étant environ le Cap Fourchu, le voila porté d'un vent de terre droit à la mer, & ce si avant, qu'il fut six iours sans aucune provision de vivres (que de quelques oiseaux pris és iles, qu'il avoit de reste) & sans autre eau douce que celle qui se recuilloit quelquefois dans les voiles: Bref sans rien voir que ciel & eau; & s'il n'eust eu vne petite bouffolle il estoit en danger d'estre porté à la côte de la Floride par la violence des vents, des tempêtes, & des vagues. En fin par son industrie & iugement il vint terrir vers l'ile sainte Croix, là où Oagimont Capitaine dudit lieu lui apporta des galettes de biscuit qu'il avoit troquées avec noz François. Et delà estant en lieu de conoissance il traversa la baye Françoise large en cet endroit de vingt lieuës, & vint au Port Royal cinq femaines apres sa departie où il trouva des gens bien etonnés pour sa longue absence, & qui desia pourpenfoient vn changement qui ne pouvoit estre que funeste. C'est ainsi qu'au peril de sa vie, avec des fatigues & souffrances incroyables il va chercher des brebis egarées pour les amener à la bergerie de Iefus-Christ, & accroitre le Royaume celeste. Que si la conversion de ces peuples ne se fait par milliers, il faut penser [16] que nul Prince ou Seigneur n'a iusques ici assisté ledit sieur de Poutrincourt, auquel même les avares vont ravir ce qui est de sa province, & sa bonté souffre cela, pour ne faire rien qui puisse aigrir les grands de deça, encores que le Roy luy ayant donné la terre il puisse iustumenter empêcher

^c Peril.

meeting, Martin was treated with great kindness, and invited to become a Christian like Membertou and ^b several others, and [15] to go to Port Royal to be more fully instructed. He promised to do this and to bring all his company. And, as the Savages never go to visit their friends empty-handed, he went hunting, that he might get some venison for this occasion; meanwhile the Sieur went on ahead, in order to meet them there (i. e. at Port Royal). But near Cape Fourchu,^c behold him carried by a land breeze straight out to sea, and so far, that he was six days without food (except some birds caught upon an island, which he still had), and without other fresh water than what he could sometimes catch in the sails; in short, seeing nothing but sky and water; and if he had not had a small compass, he would have been in danger of being carried to the coast of Florida by the violence of the winds, the tempests, and the waves. At last, owing to his good judgment and energy, he was able to land near the island of sainte Croix, where Oagimont, Captain of the place, brought him some sea-biscuits, for which he had traded with the French people. And thence, being familiar with the place, he crossed French bay, about twenty leagues wide here, and reached Port Royal, five weeks after his departure. Here he found his people wondering greatly at his long absence, and already meditating a change, which could not have been otherwise than disastrous. It is thus, at the peril of his life, and with incredible hardships and sufferings, he goes out to seek the lost sheep, to lead them back into the fold of Jesus Christ, and to add to the heavenly Kingdom. And if these people are not converted by the thousand, it must be remembered [16] that no Prince or Lord has, up to the present,

^b *Act of piety.*

^c *Peril.*

qu'on ne lui enleve les fruits d'icelle, & qu'on n'entre dans ses ports, & qu'on ne lui coupe ses bois. Quand il aura de plus amples moyens il pourra envoyer des hommes aux terres plus peuplées, où il faut aller fort, & faire vne grande moisson pour l'amplification de l'Eglise. Mais il faut premierement batir la Republique, sans laquelle l'Eglise ne peut estre. Et pour ce le premier secours doit estre à cette Republique, & non à ce qui a le preteexte de pieté. Car cette Republique estant établie, ce fera à elle à pourvoir à ce qui regarde le spirituel. Retournons au Port Royal. Là ledit Sieur arrivé trouva Martin & ses gens baptisés, & tous portés d'un grand zèle à la Religion Chrétienne, oyans fort devotement le service divin, lequel estoit ordinairement chanté en Musique de la composition dudit Sieur.

Ce zèle s'est reconu non seulement aux neophytes Chrétiens, comme nous particulariferons cy-apres : mais aussi en ceux qui n'estoient point encore initiés aux sacrez mysteres de notre Religion. Car lors que ledit Martin fut baptisé, il y en eut vn tout décharné, n'ayant plus que les os, lequel n'ayant esté en la compagnie des autres, se porta, à toute peine, en trois cabannes [17] cherchant ledit Fleuches Patriarche pour estre instruit & baptisé.

Vn autre demeurant en la baye faincte Marie à plus de douze lieuës du Port Royal, se trouvant malade, envoya en diligence faire fçavoir audit Patriarche qu'il estoit detenu de maladie, & craignant de mourir, qu'il desiroit estre baptisé. Ledit Patriarche y alla, & avec vn truchement fit envers lui ce qui estoit de l'office d'un bon Pasteur.

Quant aux Chrétiens, vn desdits Sauvages neo-

given any assistance to sieur de Poutrincourt; the avaricious are even stealing from him the wealth of his province, and he permits this in his goodness, in order to do nothing that will exasperate the nobles over here; although, as the King has given him the land, he would be justified in refusing to others the fruits thereof, as well as entry into his ports, and the cutting down of his forests. When he has more ample means, he can send men into the more populous districts, where they must go in strength, and reap a great harvest for the extension of the Church. But we must first establish the State, without which the Church cannot exist. And for this reason the first help should be given to this State, and not to what has the pretext of piety. For, when the State is founded, it will be its duty to provide for that which is spiritual. Let us return to Port Royal. When the Sieur arrived there he found Martin and his friends, baptized, and all strongly imbued with zeal for the Christian Religion, listening very devoutly to divine service, which was usually sung to Music composed by the Sieur.

This zeal is noticeable, not only in the Christian neophytes, as we shall state more in detail hereafter; but also in those who are not yet initiated into the sacred mysteries of Religion. For, as soon as Martin was baptized, there was one who was absolutely fleshless, having nothing left but bones, who, not having been with the others, dragged himself, with great suffering, through three cabins, [17] seeking the Patriarch Fleuches, to be instructed and baptized.

Another living at the bay saincte Marie,²² more than a dozen leagues from Port Royal, being sick, sent posthaste to the Patriarch, to let him know he was detained by sickness, and fearing that he might

phytes ci-devant nommé Acoüanis, & maintenant Loth, se trouvant malade, enuoya son fils en diligence de plus de vingt lieues loin fe recommander aux prières de l'Eglise: & dire que s'il mouroit il vouloit estre enterré au cimetiere des Chrétiens.

Vn iour le sieur de Poutrincourt estant allé à la dépouille d'un Cerf tué par Louïs fils ainé de Henri Membertou, comme au retour chacun f'estoit embarqué en sa chaloupe & voguoit sur le large espace de la riviere du Port Royal, avint que la femme dudit Louïs accoucha, & voyans que l'enfant estoit de petite vie, ils crierent hautement à noz gens *Tagaria, Tagaria*, c'est à dire Venez ça, Venez ça, si bien que l'enfant fut sur l'heure baptisé par le Pasteur fusdit.

Cette année il a couru par dela plusieurs maladies de dysenteries, qui ont esté mortelles à ceux qui en estoient attaincts. Est avenu que ledit Martin huit iours apres son baptême a esté frappé de ce mal, dont il est mort. Mais [18] c'est chose digne de memoire que cet homme mourant avoit toujours le sacré nom de IESVS en la bouche. Et requit en ces extremités d'estre enterré apres sa mort avec les Chrétiens. Sur quoy il y eut de la difficulté. Car les Sauvages ayans encore de la reverence aux sepultures de leurs peres & amis, le vouloient porter au Cap de Sable à 40. lieuës dudit Port. Ledit Sieur d'autre part le vouloit faire enterrer felon qu'il l'avoit demandé Là deffus vn debat se prepare. Car lesditz Sauvages prenans en main leurs arcs & fleches, vouloient emporter le corps. Mais ledit Sieur fit armer vne douzaine d'arquebusiers, qui l'enleverent fans resistance, apres leur avoir remontré quelle avoit esté l'intention du dece-
dé, & qu'estant Chrétien il falloit qu'il fust enterré

die, desired to be baptized. The Patriarch went to him, and, with the help of an interpreter, did for him what pertained to his office as a good Pastor.

As to the Christians, one of these Savage neophytes, previously named Acoüanis, and now Loth, becoming ill, sent his son with all speed more than twenty leagues distant, to request the prayers of the Church, and to say that, if he died, he wished to be buried in the Christian cemetery.

One day sieur de Poutrincourt went to see the dismemberment of a Deer which had been killed by Louis, eldest son of Henry Membertou; and, when they had all embarked for their return and were riding upon the waves of the broad river of Port Royal, it happened that the wife of Louis was delivered of a child; and, seeing that it was short-lived, they cried loudly to our people, *Tagaria, Tagaria*, that is, "Come here, Come here." So the child was immediately baptized by the aforenamed Pastor.

This year the country has been visited, here and there, by dysenteric troubles, which have been fatal to those affected by them. It happened that Martin was stricken a week after his baptism with the disease, and died thereof. But [18] it is worthy of being remembered that this dying man always had the sacred name of JESUS upon his lips. In his last moments he requested that when he died he should be buried with the Christians. There was some trouble about this. For the Savages having still some reverence for the burial places of their fathers and friends, wished to take him to Cape Sable, forty leagues distant from the Port. On the other hand, the Sieur wished to have him buried according to his request. Thereupon a dispute arose, and the Savages, seizing their bows and arrows, wanted to take away the

avec ses semblables, comme en fin il fut, avec les prieres accoutumées en l'Eglise. Cela fait on leur bailla à tous du pain, & f'en allerent contens.

Mais puis que nous sommes sur le propos des maladies & mortuaires, ie ne veux passer souz silence chose que ie ne scauoy pas, & laquelle pour ne l'avoir veu pratiquer, ie n'ay point écrite en mon Histoire de la Nouvelle France. C'est que noz Sauvages voyans vne personne languissante de vieillesse ou de maladie par vne certaine compassion ilz lui avancent ses iours, lui remonstrent qu'il faut qu'il meure pour acquerir vn repos, que c'est chose miserable de touiours languir, qu'il ne leur fert plus que de fardeau, & autres choses semblables, par lesquelles ils font resoudre le patient à [19] la mort. Et lors ilz lui ôtent tous les vivres, luy baillent sa belle robbe de Castors, ou d'autre pelleterie, & le mettent comme vn homme qui est à demi couché sur son lict, lui chantans des louanges de sa vie passée, & de sa constance à la mort: A quoy il s'accorde, & repond comme le Cygne fait sa dernière chançon: Cela fait, chacun le laisse, & s'estime heureux de mourir plutot que de languir. Car ce peuple estant vagabond, & ne pouvant touiours vivre en vne place, ils ne peuvent trainer apres eux leurs peres, ou amis, vieillars, ou malades. C'est pourquoy ilz les traitent ainsi. Si ce font malades, ilz leur font premierement des incisions au ventre, desquelles les Pilotois, ou devins succent le sang. Et en quelque façon que ce soit, s'ilz voyent qu'un homme ne se puisse plus trainer, ilz le mettent en l'estat que dessus, & lui iettent contre le nombril tant d'eau froide, que la Nature se debilite peu à peu, & meurent ainsi fort resolument & constamment.

corpse. But the Sieur placed a dozen arquebusiers under arms, who carried it off without resistance, after he had demonstrated to them that this had been the intention of the deceased, and that, being a Christian, he must be buried with his fellow-Christians; and so he was, with the usual prayers of the Church. When this was done, they were all given some bread, and went away happy.

But as we are now on the subject of sickness and death, I do not wish to pass over in silence a custom which I did not know about, and which, never having seen practiced, I did not speak of in my History of New France. It is, that when our Savages see a person gradually failing from old age or sickness, through a certain compassion they hasten his death; showing him that he must die to procure rest, that it is a wretched thing to languish from day to day, that he is only a burden to them, and offer other similar arguments, by means of which they make the sick man resolve to [19] die. And then they take away from him all food, give him his beautiful robe of Beaver or other fur, and place him in a half-reclining posture upon his bed, singing to him praises of his past life, and of his fortitude in death; to this he agrees, and replies with his last chant, like the Swan; When it is finished, all leave him, and he considers himself happy to die rather than to linger on. For these people, being nomadic, and not being able to continue living in one place, cannot drag after them their fathers or friends, the aged, or the sick. That is why they treat them in this manner. If they are sick, they first make incisions into their stomachs, from which the Pilotois,²³ or sorcerers, suck the blood. And, whatever the cause, if they see a man can no longer drag himself along, they put him in the condi-

Ainsi en avoit-on fait à Henri Membertou, qui se trouvoit indisposé. Mais il manda au sieur de Poutrincourt qu'il le vinst voir ce iour là, autrement qu'il estoit mort. Au mandement ledit Sieur va trouver Membertou au fond du Port Royal à quatre lieues loin de son fort, auquel ledit Membertou conte son affaire, disant qu'il n'avoit point encore envie de mourir. Ledit Sieur le console, & le fait enlever de la pour le mener avec lui. Ce qu'ayant fait, & arrivé audit Fort, il lui fait preparer vn bon feu, le couche aupres sur vn bon lict, le fait frotter, dorlotter, [20] & bien penser, lui fait prendre medecine, d'où s'ensuivit qu'au bout de trois iours voila Membertou debout, prest à vivre encore cinquante ans.

On ne peut arracher tout d'un coup les coutumes & façons de faire inveterées d'un peuple quel que ce soit. Les Apôtres ni plusieurs siecles apres eux ne l'ont pas fait, témoins les ceremonys des chandeles de la Chandeleur, les Proceffions des Rogations, les Feuz de ioye de la fainct Iehan Baptiste, l'Eau benite, & plusieurs autres traditions que nous avons en l'Eglise, lesquelles ont esté introduites à bonne fin, pour tourner en bon visage ce que l'on faisoit par abus. Ainsi iaçoit que la famille de Membertou soit Chrétienne, toutefois elle n'avoit esté encore enseignée qu'il n'est pas loisible aux hommes d'abbreger les iours aux vieillars, ou malades, quoy qu'ilz pensent bien faire, mais faut attendre la volonté de Dieu, & laisser faire son office à la Nature. Et de verité vn Pasteur est excusable qui manque à faire chose dont il n'a connoissance.

Vne chose de même merite avint en la maladie de Martin. Car on lui ietta de l'eau semblablement,

tion above described, and throw upon his navel so much cold water, that Nature weakens little by little, and thus he dies with great steadfastness and fortitude.

This is the way they had treated Henry Membertou when he was sick. But he sent and asked sieur de Poutrincourt to come and see him that very day, otherwise he would be dead. At this request the Sieur went to seek Membertou at the farther end of Port Royal, four leagues away from his fort; to him the said Membertou related his story, saying he did not care to die yet. The Sieur consoled him, and had him lifted up and taken away with him. Then, when they arrived at the Fort, he had a good fire prepared for him, and, placing him near it upon a good bed, had him rubbed, [20] nursed, well cared for, and doctored; and the result was, at the end of three days, behold Membertou up and about, ready to live fifty years longer.

You cannot all at once eradicate the deep-rooted customs and habits of any people, whoever they may be. The Apostles did not do it, neither was it done several centuries after them; witness the ceremonies of the candles on Candlemas, the Processions of the Rogation-days, the Bonfires of saint John the Baptist's day, the holy Water, and many other traditions that we have in the Church, which have been introduced for a laudable purpose, to convert to a good usage what had only been abused. So, although Membertou's family were Christians, nevertheless they had not yet been taught that it is not lawful for men to shorten the days of the aged, or sick, although they think they are doing right; but rather that they must await the will of God, and leave Nature to do her work. And certainly a Pastor is excusable who fails to do things of which he has no knowledge.

pour ne le voir languir: & estant malade comme ledit Patriarche, & vn nommé de Montfort lui eussent pris à la chasse & fait manger quelques tourtres, lesquelles il trouva bonnes, il demandoit lors qu'on luy parloit de Paradis, si l'on y en mangeoit: A quoy on lui répondit qu'il y auoit chose meilleure, & qu'il y feroit content. Voila la simplicité [21] d'un peuple plus capable de posseder le royaume des cieux que ceux qui sçavent beaucoup, & font des œuvres mauvaises. Car ce qu'on leur propose, ilz le croient & gardent soigneusement, voire reprochent aux nôstres leurs fautes, quand ilz ne prient point Dieu avant & apres le repas: ce qu'a fait plusieurs fois ledit Henri Membertou, lequel assiste volontiers au service divin, & porte toujours le signe de la Croix au devant de sa poitrine. Méme ne se fendant assez capable de former des prières convenables à Dieu, il prioit le Pasteur de se souvenir de lui, & de tous ses frères Sauvages baptisés. Depuis le dernier baptême duquel nous avons fait mention, il y en a eu plusieurs autres du 14. & 16. d'Aoust, 8. & 9. d'Octobre 1. de Decembre 1610. Et en somme ledit Pasteur fait estat d'en avoir baptisé sept vingts en vn an, aufquels ont esté imposés les noms de plusieurs personnes signalées de pardeça, selon l'affection de ceux qui faisoient l'office de parrins, ou marines, lesquels ont baillé des filleuls à ceux & celles qui ensuient.

ET PREMIEREMENT,

Monsieur le Prince de Condé.

Monsieur le Prince de Conty.

M. le Comte de Soiffons.

M. le Duc de Neuvers.

M. le Duc de Guise.

Something similar was done in Martin's sickness. For they threw water upon him in this way, in order not to see him linger along; during his sickness, when the Patriarch and a man named de Montfort had caught for him, and made him eat some wild pigeon, which he liked very much, he asked them, as they were speaking to him about Heaven, if there would be any wild pigeon there. To which they answered that there was something better there, and that he would be happy. Such is the simplicity of a people [21] more fit to possess the kingdom of heaven than those who know a great deal, and whose deeds are evil. For they believe and carefully observe what is proposed to them, even reproaching our people for their carelessness, if they do not pray to God before and after eating; this was done a number of times by Henry Membertou, who likes to attend divine service, and always wears the sign of the Cross upon his bosom. Furthermore, not being able to formulate suitable prayers to God, he begged the Pastor to remember him, and all his brother Savages who have been baptized. Since the last baptism, of which we have spoken, there were several others, on the 14th and 16th of August, the 8th and 9th of October, and the 1st of December, 1610. And altogether the Pastor calculates that he has baptized one hundred and forty in one year, to whom have been given the names of many distinguished people over here, according to the inclinations of those who held the position of godfathers or godmothers; these have given godsons to the following.

AND FIRSTLY TO,

Monsieur the Prince de Condé.

Monsieur the Prince de Conty.

- M. le Prince de Ioinuille.
M. le Prince de Tingry.
M. de Praflin.
M. Roger Baron de Chaource fils dudit sieur de Praflain.
M. de Grieu Conseiller au Parlement de Paris. [22]
M. Seruin Aduocat general du Roy audit Parlement.
M. de la Gueule Procureur general du Roy audit Parlement.
M. le Comte de Tonnerre.
Meffire Ieffé de Fleuchey, Patriarche de Canada.
M. Belot, dit de Monfort.
M. de Louy.
M. Bertrand natis de Sefane, presens & assistans ausdits baptesmes.
M. de Villars Archeuesque de Vienne Daulphiné.
M. Descars Euesque & Duc de Langres.
M. de Gondy Euesque de Paris.
M. Dormy Euesque de Boulongne.
M. de Braslay Euefque de Troyes.
M. l'Abbé de faincte Geneuiefue fils de M. de Beauuais Nangis.
M. Abbé de Cleruaux.
M. de Vauemain Baron de Chapleine, Bailly de Troyes.
Frere Claude de Vauillier Penitencier de Molefme.
M. Bareton Chanoine grand Archidiacre & Official de Troyes.
M. Douynet, Chanoine & Promoteur audit Troyes.
M. Megard, Chanoine & Threforier de fainct Vrbain audit Troyes.
M. Megard Licentié és Droicts, Chanoine en l'Eglise fainct Estienne audit Troyes.
M. Fombert Chanoine en l'Eglise de Vienne.
M. Guilliet Chanoine audit Viennes.
M. Bourguignon curé de fainct Estienne au mont à Paris.
M. Dauiau Vicaire & receveur audit S. Estienne.
M. Rouure curé de Lantage.
M. de Marquemont auditeur de Rothes à Rome.
M. de Sauarre Conseiller au Parlement de Paris.
M. Vigor Conseiller au grand Conseil.
M. de fainct Iust.
M. de Lantage-baratier, sieur dudit Lantage.
M. Edme baratier son fils.
M. de Lantage Mötleliart.
M. de Sainct Simon.
M. de la Berge.
M. Auguste du Boullot, sieur de l'Estant.
M. Regnard Secretaire de la Chambre du Roy, & de Monsieur le Procureur general.

- M. the Count de Soissons.²⁴
M. the Duke de Nevers.²⁵
M. the Duke de Guise.²⁶
M. the Prince de Joinville.
M. the Prince de Tingry.
M. de Praslin.²⁷
M. Roger, Baron de Chaource, son of sieur de Praslin.
M. de Grieu, Counselor in the Parliament of Paris.²⁸ [22]
M. Servin, Advocate-general of the King in Parliament.
M. de la Guesle, Procuror-general of the King in Parliament.
M. the Count de Tonnerre.
Messire Jessé de Fleuchey, Patriarch of Canada.
M. Belot, called de Monfort.
M. de Jouy.
M. Bertrand,²⁹ native of Sesane, present and assisting in these baptisms.
M. de Villars, Archbishop of Vienne, in Dauphiné.
M. Descars, Bishop and Duke de Langres.
M. de Gondy, Bishop of Paris.
M. Dormy, Bishop of Boulongne.
M. de Braslay, Bishop of Troyes.
M. the Abbé of saincte Geneviefve,³⁰ son of M. de Beauvais Nangis.
M. the Abbé of Clervaux.
M. de Vausemain, Baron de Chapleine, Bailiff of Troyes.
Brother Claude de Vauvillier, Penitencier of Molesme.
M. Bareton, Canon, grand Arch-deacon and Official of Troyes.
M. Douynet, Canon and Promoter at Troyes.
M. Megard, Canon and Treasurer of saint Urbain, at Troyes.
M. Megard, Licentiate in Law, Canon in the Church of St. Estienne at Troyes.
M. Fombert, Canon in the Church of Vienne.
M. Guilliet, Canon at Vienne.
M. Bourguignon, pastor of Sainct Estienne au mont, Paris.
M. Daviau, Vicar and receiver of St. Estienne.
M. Rouvre, pastor of Lantage.
M. de Marquemont, auditor of Rothes, at Rome.
M. de Savarre, Counselor in the Parliament of Paris.
M. Vigor, Counselor in the grand Council.
M. de saint Just.
M. de Lantage-baratier, sieur of Lantage.
M. Edme baratier, his son.
M. de Lantage Montleliart.
M. de Sainct Simon.
M. de la Berge.

- Monf. Symony Sieur de Rouelle Aduocat à Langres. [23]
 M. Fombert Procureur en Parlement.
 M. Dauant President & Lieutenant general à Troyes.
 M. de Bobus Lieutenant Criminel audit Troyes.
 M. Bazin Procureur du Roy audit lieu.
 M. Parmentier Lieutenant de robbe courte audit Troyes.
 M. Iacquinet maistre des eaux & forests audit Troyes.
 M. Megard Lieutenant des Chirurgiēs audit Troyes.
 M. Martin Lieutenant general au Marquisat d'Isle.
 M. l'Eueque Procureur audit lieu.
 M. Iamin Greffier audit lieu.
 M. de la Rue Vicaire de Virey soubs Bar.
 M. Belot thresorier extraordinaire des guerres en Guienne.
 M. Belot Commissaire des guerres.
 M. Belot sieur du Pontor.
 M. Belot Procureur au grand Conseil.
 M. Hardy Receveur des tailles au Mans.
 M. Marteau Secretaire du sieur Preuost Morel.
 M. Baiouë Greffier au bailliage de Monfort Lamaury.
 M. de Cresse Commis de Monsieur Estienne Controleur des bastimens du Roy.
 M. du Val Iuge & Garde de la Iustice de Lantage.
 M. de la Creuse Secretaire de Monsieur de Chaftille.
 Iean, Mathieu & Gregoire de Fleuchey freres dudit Patriarche.
 Pierre Roussel son beau frere.
 Ferry Roussel fils de Gabriel Roussel dudit Lantage.
 Robert Roy, Sergēt Royal Forester de la forest de Romilly.
 Claude Iouguelat.

Quand aux femmes on a donné des filleules à celles qui enfuient.

- Madame la Princeſſe de Condé.
 Madame la Princeſſe de Conty.
 Mad. la Comteſſe de Soiffons.
 Mad. la Ducheffe de Neuers.
 Mad. de Guife.
 Mad. de Longueuille. [24]
 Mad. de Praſlain mere du Sieur de Praſlain.
 Mad. de Praſlain.
 Mesdamoiselles Catherine, Blanche & Claude filles dudit sieur de Praſlain.
 Mad. la Comteſſe de Tonnerre

M. Auguste du Boullot, sieur de l'Estain.
M. Regnard, Secretary of the King's Chamber and of Monsieur the Procuror-general.
Mons. Symony, Sieur de Rouelle, Advocate at Langres. [23]
M. Fombert, Procuror in Parliament.
M. Davant, President and Lieutenant-general at Troyes.
M. de Bobus, Criminal Lieutenant at Troyes.
M. Bazin, Attorney of the King at that place.
M. Parmentier, Lieutenant of the short robe³¹ at Troyes.
M. Jacquinet, master of streams and forests at Troyes.
M. Megard, Lieutenant of Surgeons at Troyes.
M. Martin, Lieutenant-general of the Marquisate of Isle.
M. l'Evesque, Procuror at that place.
M. Iamin, Master of Rolls at that place.
M. de la Rue, Vicar of Virey soubs Bar.
M. Belot, treasurer extraordinary of the wars in Guienne.
M. Belot, military Commissioner.
M. Belot, sieur du Pontor.
M. Belot, Procuror in the grand Council.
M. Hardy, Receiver of taxes at Mans.
M. Marteau, Secretary to sieur Prevost Morel.
M. Bajouë, Master of Rolls at the bailiwick of Monfort Lamaury.
M. de Cresse, Clerk to Monsieur Estienne, Controller of the King's buildings.
M. du Val, Judge and Guard of Justice at Lantage.
M. de la Creuse, Secretary of Monsieur de Chastille.
Jean, Mathieu and Gregoire de Fleuchey, brothers of the Patriarch.
Pierre Roussel, his brother-in-law.
Ferry Roussel, son of Gabriel Roussel, of said Lantage.
Robert Roy, Sergeant Royal, Forester of the forest of Romilly.
Claude Jouguelat.

As to the women, goddaughters were given to the following.

Madame the Princess de Condé.
Madame the Princess de Conty.
Mad. the Countess de Soissons.³⁴
Mad. the Duchess of Nevers.²⁵
Mad. de Guise.²⁶
Mad. de Longueville. [24]
Mad. de Praslain, mother of Sieur de Praslain.²⁷
Mad. de Praslain.
Mesdemoiselles Catherine, Blanche, and Claude, daughters of sieur de Praslain.
Mad. the Countess de Tonnerre.

Mad. Anne de la Val Dame de Ricey.
Mad. Françoise de Faulch femme du sieur Delantage Baratier.
Mad. Charlotte leur fille.
Mad. de Grieu.
Mad. de la Berge.
Mad. de Sauare.
Mad. Anne Arleftain femme du sieur de l'Eftain.
Mesd. Philippes & Charlotte de Arleftain ses foeurs.
Madam. Regnard femme dudit sieur Regnard.
Mad. Belot Treforier.
Madame Simony vefue de Monsieur Simony Procureur en Parlemēt.
Mad. de Beaulieu.
Mad. marguerite Simony.
Mad. Hardy.
Mad. Belot femme de mōfieur Belot Procureur.
Mad. Bajouë.
Mad. Ieanne des MARETS femme du sieur Megard Chirurgien à Troyes.
Barbe Ramin mere dudit Patriarche.
Barbe de Fleuchey fa fœur.
Ieanne, Clemence Roussel & Valentine Drouin fẽmes desdits Fleuchey freres dudit Patriarche.

Voila ce que i'ay extrait d'un ordre confus des parins & marines, lesquels i'ay voulu coucher icy pour les inuiter a faire du bien à ceux qui ont eté baptizez soubs leurs noms, dont ie veux bien esperer même de ceux de basse condition. Que si la conversion de ces peuples ne va par milliers, il faut confiderer l'estat du païs qui n'est si frequent en hommes que noz villages de France. On pourroit faire plus grande moisson qui voudroit passer plus outre: mais il faut vouloir ce que l'on peut, & prie Dieu qu'il vueille faire le reste, puisque les hommes ont cette entreprise tāt à mépris.

[25] EXERCICES.

La pieté du sieur de Poutrincourt veut que le pre-

Mad. Anne de la Val, Lady of Ricey.
Mad. Françoise de Faulch, wife of sieur Delantage Baratier.
Mad. Charlotte, their daughter.
Mad. de Grieu.
Mad. de la Berge.
Mad. de Savare.
Mad. Anne Arlestain, wife of sieur de l'Estain.
Mesd. Philippa and Charlotte de Arlestain, his sisters.
Madam. Regnard, wife of Sieur Regnard.
Mad. Belot (wife of Treasurer.)
Madame Simony, widow of Monsieur Simony, Procuror in Parliament.
Mad. de Beaulieu.
Mad. Marguerite Simony.
Mad. Hardy.
Mad. Belot, wife of Monsieur Belot, Procuror.
Mad. Bajouë.
Mad. Jeanne des MARETS, wife of sieur Megard, Surgeon at Troyes.
Barbe Ramin, mother of the Patriarch.
Barbe de Fleuchey, his sister.
Jeanne, Clemence Roussel, and Valentine Drouin, wives of said Fleuchey, brothers of the Patriarch.

The above are the extracts I have made from a confused list of godfathers and godmothers, whom I wish to enumerate here so that they may do some good to those who have been baptized under their names, which I am willing to hope for, even from those of humble condition. And if the conversion of these people is not effected by thousands, we must consider the state of the country, in which there are not as many men as in our villages in France. A greater harvest could be reaped by those who could go farther beyond; but we must be willing to do what we can, and pray God that he may consent to do the rest, since men look upon this enterprise with so much contempt.

[25] OCCUPATIONS.

Sieur de Poutrincourt's piety requires that the first exercise of the day in this country be to pray to God

mier exercice de la journée en ce païs là fait de prier Dieu, à l'imitation d'Abel, lequel (ce dit Philon) offrit au matin son sacrifice. Ce que ne fit Cain. Et les sages remarquent par la comparaison de Iacob qui reçut la premiere benediction d'Isaac, laquelle fut plus forte que celle qui fut donnée à Esaü: que ceux qui prient du matin, receuans la premiere benediction de Dieu, ont aussi plus grande part en ses graces. C'est pourquoi un illustre personnage de notre temps entre ses preceptes moraux & sentences vrayement dorees, a écrit.

*Avec le jour commence ta journée
Dc l'Eternel le saint nom benissant:
Le soir aussi ton labeur finissant,
Louë-le encor, & passe ainsi l'année.*

C'est ainsi que ledit Sieur en a fait, ayant exprés mené à ses dépens le fusdit Patriarche, lequel ie voy par les memoires que i'ay ne s'estre iamais épargné à ce qui estoit de sa charge s'estant transporté quelquefois quatre, quelquefois douze lieuës loin pour baptizer des enfans de Sauvages, au mandement qu'ilz luy en faisoient, disans qu'ils vouloient estre comme Membertou, c'est à dire Chrétiens. Quelquefois aussi il a conduit sa troupe en processiō sur vne montagne qui est au Nort de leur habitation, sur laquelle y a vn roc quarré de toutes [26] parts, de la hauteur d'une table, couvert d'vne mouffe épefse où ie me suis quelquefois couché plafammēt: i'ay appellé ce lieu le mont de la Roque au pourtraict que i'ay fait du Port Royal en mon Histoire, en faveur d'un mien amy nôme de la Roque Prevost de Vimeu en Picardie, qui desiroit prendre là vne terre, & y enuoyer des hommes.

Le second exercice c'est de pourvoir aux necessitez de la vie, à quoy il employa ses gens chacun felon fa-

like Abel, who (as Philo says) offered his sacrifice to God in the morning; which Cain did not do. And sages observe, by citing Jacob, who received Isaac's first blessing, which was stronger than that given to Esau, that those who pray in the morning and receive the first benediction of God, always have a greater share in his mercies. Hence an illustrious personage of our times has written, among his moral precepts and truly golden sentences;

*With the light thy day beginning,
Then praise the name of the Eternal One;
Again at evening when thy work is done,
Thus spend the year his praises singing.*

The Sieur has done this, having brought here, expressly at his own expense, the aforementioned Patriarch, who, I see from memoranda which I have, has never spared himself in the performance of his duties, going sometimes four, sometimes twelve leagues away to baptize some of the children of the Savages, in answer to their requests, saying they wanted to be like Membertou, namely, Christians. Also sometimes he has led his band in a procession to a mountain North of their settlement, upon which there is a square rock [26] as high as a table, covered with thick moss, where I have sometimes enjoyed a pleasant rest. I have called this place mount de la Roque, in the sketch I made of Port Royal in my History, after one of my friends named de la Roque, Provost of Vimeu in Picardy, who desired to take up land there and to send over some men.

The second duty was to provide for the necessities of life, and to this end he employed his people, each according to his trade, as soon as they arrived; some were employed in tilling the ground, some in build-

vacatiō, estant arriué à la terre, qui au labourage, qui aux batimens, qui à la forge, qui a faire des ais, &c. Le Patriarche fusdit s'empara de mon étude, & de mes parterres & jardinages, où il dit auoir trouvé arrivant là, quantité de raves, naveaux, carottes, panais, pois, féves, & toutes sortes d'herbes jardinieres bonnes & plātureuses. A quoy s'estant occupé, il y a laissé à son retour (qui fut le 17. de Iuin dernier) vn beau champ de blé à beaux épics, & bien fleuri.

Plusieurs autres se sont occupés à la terre, comme estant le premier métier & le plus neceffaire à la vie de l'homme. Ils en ont (comme ie croy) maintenant recuilli les fructs, hors-mis des arbres fruitiers qu'ils ont plantés, lesquels ne font si prompts à cela.

Quant aux Sauvages ils ne fçaient que c'est du labourage, & ne s'y peuvent addonner, courageux seulement & penibles à la chasse, & à la pécherie. Toutefois les Armouchiquois & autres plus esloignés plantent du blé & des fevés, mais ils laissent faire cela aux femmes.

[27] Nos gens outre le labourage & iardinage, avoient l'exercice de la chasse, de la pécherie, & de leurs fortifications. Ils ne manquerent aussi d'exercice à remettre & couvrir les batimens & le moulin de laissez depuis nôtre retour en l'an 1607. Et d'autant que la fonteine estoit vn peu eloignée du Fort, ils firent vn pui dans icelui Fort, de l'eau duquel ils se font fort bien trouvez. De forte que (chose emerueillable) ils n'ont eu aucunes maladies, quoy qu'il y ait eu beaucoup de fujet d'en avoir par la neceffité qu'ils ont soufferte. Car le Sieur de Sainct Iust fils dudit Sieur de Poutrincourt ayant eu mandement de retourner dans quatre mois (comme nous avons dit

ing, some at the forge, some in making planks, etc. The Patriarch took possession of my apartment, and of my parterres and gardens, where he says he found, at his arrival, a great many radishes, parsnips, carrots, turnips, peas, beans, and all kinds of good and productive culinary herbs. Occupying himself with these things, upon his return (which was the 17th of last June), he left a beautiful field of wheat with fine, well-flowered heads.

Several others were occupied in agriculture, this being the occupation of prime importance, and most necessary to human life. They have now (I suppose) reaped the harvest thereof, except that of the trees they planted, which are not so prompt in bearing.

As to the Savages, they know nothing about cultivating the land, and cannot give themselves up to it, showing themselves courageous and laborious only in hunting and fishing. However, the Armouchiquois and other more distant tribes plant wheat³² and beans, but they let the women do the work.³³

[27] Our people, besides the farm and garden work, passed their time in hunting, fishing, and in making fortifications. Work was not wanting also in repairing and roofing the buildings and the mill, abandoned since our return in 1607. And, as the spring was some little distance from there, they dug a well in the Fort, and found the water very good. So that (wonderful to relate) they had no sickness, although there was sufficient cause for it in the privations they suffered. For Sieur de Sainct Just, son of Sieur de Poutrincourt, having been ordered to return in four months (as we have said above), was expected the last of November, with fresh supplies; yet he did not come until the day of Pentecost, the 22nd of the

ci-deffus) on l'attendoit dans la fin de Nouembre pour avoir du rafraichissement, & toutesfois il n'arriva que le iour de Pentecoste, qui fut le 22. de May ensuivant. Cela fut cause qu'il fallut retrencher les vivres qu'ils avoient en affez petite quantité. De manger toujours du poisson (s'il n'est bō & ferme) ou des coquillages feuls fans pain, cela est dangereux, & cause la dysenterie, cōme nous avōs rapporté ci-deffus de quelques Sauuages qui en sont morts, & pouvons en avoir autre témoignage par les gens du Sieur de Monts, qui moururent en nombre de vingt la premiere année qu'ils hivernerent à Kebec, tāt pour la nouveauté de la demeure, que pour avoir trop mangé d'anguilles & autres poiffōs. La chaffe ausfi ne se trouve pas à foison en vn lieu où il faut viure de cela, & où l'on fait vne demeure arrestée. C'est ce qui rend les [28] Sauvages vagabons, & fait qu'ilz ne peuvent vivre en vne place. Quand ils ont esté six semaines en vn lieu il faut changer de demeure. Ilz prindrent au terroir du Port Royal fix Grignaces ou Ellans, cet hiver, dont ils en apportoient vn quartier ou moitié aux nôtres. Mais cela ne va gueres loin à tant de gens. Le iour de Pasques fleuries le fils ainé de Membertou dit Louïs, en poursuivoit vn, qui s'estant venu rendre au Port Royal paſſoit l'eau, quand la femme dudit Louïs vint faire vne alarme en criant plusieurs fois, *Ech'pada, Ech'pada*, c'est à dire, Aux épées, Aux épées. On penſoit que ce fuffent quelques ennemis, mais il fut le bien venu. Le Sieur de Poutrincourt se mit dans vne chaloupe pour aller au devant, & avec vn dogue il le fit tourner en arriere d'où il venoit. Il y avoit du plaſir à le cotoyer ſi proche de fa ruine. Si-toſt qu'il approcha de terre, ledit Louïs le transperça

following May. For this reason they were obliged to diminish their rations, of which they had rather a small quantity. To always eat fish (unless it is good and firm) or shellfish alone, without bread, is dangerous, and causes dysentery, as we have observed above in regard to certain Savages who died of it. We can prove this also by Sieur de Monts' men, who died, to the number of twenty, the first year they wintered at Kebec, both on account of their change of dwelling, and because they ate too many eels and other fish. Furthermore, game is not always to be found in abundance in a place where people are obliged to live on it, and where there is a permanent settlement. This is what makes [28] nomads of the Savages, and prevents them from remaining long in one place. When they have been six weeks in a place, they are obliged to leave their habitation. This winter, in the neighborhood of Port Royal they took six Grignaces³⁴ or Elks, and brought a quarter or half of them to our people. But that did not go far with so many men. On Palm Sunday, Louis, the eldest son of Membertou, was on the trail of one which had reached Port Royal and was just crossing the river, when his wife caused an alarm by crying out several times, *Ech'pada, Ech'pada*, that is, "To arms, to arms." They thought it might be an enemy, but it was a welcome one. Sieur de Poutrincourt got into a boat to go and head it off, and, with the help of a big dog, made it turn back whence it came. There was some sport in chasing it so near its death. As soon as it approached the land, Louis pierced it through with an arrow, Sieur de Jouy discharged his arquebuse at its head, but *Actaudinech'*, or Paul, the younger son of Membertou, dexterously cut a vein in

d'une fleche, le Sieur de Iouy luy tira vne arquebuse-fade à la tête, mais *Aclaudinech'* dit Paul fils puifné de Membertou lui coupa dextrement vne veine au col, qui l'atterra du tout. Ceci donna vne curée & consolation stomachale aux nôtres. Mais cela ne dura pas toujours. Il fallut revenir à l'ordinaire. Et faut penser qu'en ce retranchement de vivres dont nous avons parlé il y eut de grandes affaires pour le chef, car des mutineries & conspirations survindrent, & d'un costé le cuisinier déroboit vne partie de la portion des autres, & tel crioit à la faim, qui avoit abondance de pain & de chair dans sa [29] cellule, ainsi que s'est veu par experience. Ceux qui portoient le blé au moulin, de quinze boisseaux n'en rendoient que douze de farine au lieu de dix-huit. Et de la nécessité d'autrui ils troquoient avarement des Castors avec les Sauvages. Neantmoins (par trop de bonté) tant de fautes leur furent pardonnées apres visitation faite. Pauvres fots qui font des conseils si legers, & ne voyent point ce qu'ils deviendront par apres, & que leur vie ne peut estre assurée que par un perpetuel exil de leur patrie, & de tout ce qu'ils ont de plus cher au monde.

En cette difette on eut avis de quelques racines que les Sauvages mangent au besoin, lesquelles sont bonnes comme Truffes. Cela fut cause que quelques paresseux se mirèrent avec les diligens à fouiller la terre, & firent si bien par leurs iournées qu'ils en defrichèrèrent environ quatre arpens, là où on a semé des segles & legumes. C'est ainsi que Dieu faisait tirer du mal un bien; il chastie les siens, & neantmoins les soutient de sa main.

Quand l'hiver fut passé, & que la douceur du temps allecha le poisson à rechercher les eaux douces, on dé-

its neck, which completely finished it. This gave our people some game, and consolation to their stomachs. But it did not last always, and they had to come back to ordinary fare. You must bear in mind that, in this cutting down of supplies, of which we have spoken, there were great responsibilities for the commandant; for mutinies and conspiracies arose; and on the one hand the cook stole a part of what belonged to the others, while a certain one cried "hunger" who had plenty of bread and meat in his [29] cell, as has been proven. Those who carried wheat to the mill, from fifteen bushels brought back only twelve of flour, instead of eighteen. They also took advantage of the necessity of others, in miserly traffic in Beaver skins with the Savages. Nevertheless (through too much kindness), all these faults were pardoned after they had been looked into. Poor fools, who take good counsel so lightly, and do not see what will become of them afterwards, and that their lives can only be assured by a perpetual exile from their country, and from all they hold dearest in the world.

During this scarcity they heard of some roots which the Savages eat in their time of need, and which are as good as Truffles.³⁵ To seek for these, some of the lazy ones, as well as the more industrious, began to dig; and did so well that, by working daily, they cleared about four acres, in which rye and vegetables were planted. It is thus that God can draw good from evil; he chastises his people, and yet sustains them with his hand.

When the winter was over and the mildness of the weather allured the fish to seek fresh water, upon the 14th of April, men were sent out fishing. There

pecha des gens le 14. Avril pour faire la quête de cela. Il y a nombre infini de ruisseaux au Port Royal, entre lesquels font trois ou quatre où vient à foison le poisson au renouveau. L'vn apporte l'Eplan en Avril en quantité infinie. L'autre le Haren, l'autre l'Eturgeon & Saumō, &c. Ainsi furent lors députez quelques vns pour aller voir à la riviere qui [30] est au profond du Port Royal, si l'Eplan estoit venu. Ils y allerent, & leur fit Membertou (qui estoit cabanné là) bonne chere, de chair & de poisson. Delà ils alerent au ruisseau nommé Lieffe par le Sieur des Noyers Advocat en Parlement, là où ils trouverent tant de poisson, qu'il fallut envoyer querir du sel pour en faire bonne prouision. Ce poisson est fort savoureux & delicat, & ne fait point de mal comme pourroient faire les coquillages: & vient enuiron l'espace de six semaines en ce ruisseau: lequel temps passé il y a vn autre ruisseau audit Port Royal, où vient le Haren, item vn autre où vient la Sardine en même abondance. Mais quant à la riuiere dudit Port, qui est la riviere de l'Equille, depuis nommée la riviere du Dauphin, au temps fusdit elle fournit d'Eturgeons & Saumons à qui veut prendre la peine d'en faire la chasse. Quand le Haren fut venu, les Sauvages (selon leur bon naturel) firent des feuz & fumees en leur quartier, pour en dōner avis à noz François. Ce qui ne fut negligé. Et est cette chasse beaucoup plus certaine que celle des bois.

RETOVR EN LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE.

Il estoit le 10. de May quand la derniere cuiffon du pain faite, on tint conseil de retourner en France, si dās le mois n'arriuoit secours. Ce qui fut prest

are a great many streams at Port Royal, and among them three or four where the fish swarm in the spawning season. One contains vast numbers of Smelts³⁶ in April. Another, Herring, another, Sturgeon and Salmon, etc. So some were then sent to the river at the [30] back of Port Royal, to see if the Smelts had come. When they reached the place, Membertou (who was encamped there), received them hospitably, regaling them with meat and fish. Thence they went to the stream called Liesse³⁷ by Sieur des Noyers, an Advocate in Parliament, where they found so many fish that they had to send and get some salt, to lay in a store of them. These fish are very tempting and delicate, and are not so injurious as shellfish are apt to be. They remain about six weeks in this stream; after that there is another small river near Port Royal, where Herring is found, also another to which Sardines come in great abundance. But as to the river of the Port, which is the river Equille, since named the Dauphin,³⁸ at the time of which we speak it furnished Sturgeon and Salmon to any one who would take the trouble to fish for them. When the Herrings came, the Savages (with their usual good-nature) let the French know it by signaling from their quarters with fires and smoke. The hint was not neglected, for this kind of hunting is much more sure than that of the woods.

RETURN TO NEW FRANCE.

It was the 10th of May, when the last bread was baked, that they took counsel about returning to France, if help did not come within a month. This they were ready to do. But on the day of Pentecost [May 22nd] [31] God sent his consoling spirit to this

d'estre executé. Mais le iour de la Pentecoste [31] Dieu envoya son esprit consolateur à cette compagnie ja languissante, qui lui suruint bien à propos, par l'arrivée du Sieur de Sainct Iust, duquel il nous faut dire quelque chose: car ci-devant nous l'avons laissé au port de Dieppe, fans avoir veu ce qu'il a fait depuis. S'estant presenté à la Royne; elle fut merveilleusement rejouie d'entendre la conversion de plusieurs Sauvages qui avoient esté baptisés avant le depart dudit sieur de Sainct Iust, dont ie fis vn recit public que ie presentay à sa Majesté. La dessus les Iesuites se presentēt pour aller au secours. La Royne le trouve bon. Elle les recōmande. I'eusse désiré qu'avant partir quelqu'vn eust remontré à sa Majesté chose qu'elle n'eust fait que trop volontiers: C'est d'envoyer quelque present de vivres & d'habits à ces Neophytes & nouveaux Chrétiens qui portēt les noms du feu Roy, de la Royne Regente, & de Messeigneurs & Dames les enfans de France. Mais chacun regarde à son profit particulier. Ledit sieur de Sainct Iust apres son rapport fait, pretendoit obtenir quelques defenses pour le cōmerce des Castors, coidant que la cōsideration de la religion lui pourroit faire aisément accorder cela. Ce qu'il ne peut toutefois obtenir. Et voyant que cette affaire tiroit en longueur, & qu'il falloit aller secourir son pere, ayant mandement de faire en sorte d'estre de retour dans quatre mois, il print cōgé de la Royne, laquelle luy bailla de compagnie deux Iesuites pour la conversion des peuples Sauvages de delà. Mais puis que le sieur de Poutrincourt avoit pris vn [32] homme capable à son partement, il me semble que ceux-ci (qui peuvent estre plus vtils par-deça) se haftterēt trop pour le profit dudit Sieur: Car

company, already so disheartened, and it came to them very opportunely in the arrival of Sieur de Sainct Just, of whom we must say a few words; for awhile ago we left him at the port of Dieppe, and have not seen what he has been doing since. When he was presented to the Queen, she was wonderfully pleased to hear about the conversion of several Savages, who had been baptized before the departure of sieur de Sainct Just, an account of which I published and presented to her Majesty. Thereupon the Jesuits offered themselves to aid in the work. The Queen favored the plan, and recommended them. I should have been glad, if, before their departure, some one had suggested to her Majesty a thing which she would willingly have done; namely, to send some presents of food and clothes to these Neophytes and new Christians, who bear the names of the deceased King, of the Queen Regent, and of my Lords and Ladies, the children of France.³⁹ But every one looks out for his own interests. Sieur de Sainct Just, after his report had been made, meant to obtain protection for the Beaver trade, believing that considerations of a religious nature would easily secure this for him. However, he could not obtain it. And seeing that the affair was dragging on, and that he must go and relieve his father, having been ordered to so arrange affairs as to be back in four months, he took leave of the Queen, who sent with him two Jesuits for the conversion of the Savage tribes over there. But as sieur de Poutrincourt had taken an [32] able man at his departure, it seems to me that these men (who can be more useful here) were in too much of a hurry for the best interests of the Sieur; because the delay, which took place on their account, was very detri-

le retardement écheu à leur occasion lui a prejudicié de beaucoup, & caufé la rupture de son affociation. Et faut en telles affaires fonder la Republique premierement, sans laquelle l'Eglise ne peut estre, ainsi que i'ay def-ja écrit ci-deffus. I'en avoy dit mon avis au-dit sieur de Sainct Iust, & qu'il falloit affeurer la vie avant toutes chofes, faire vne cuillette de bledz, avoir des bestiaux, & des volatiles domeftics, devant que pouvoir affembler ces peuples. Or ceste precipitation pensa, outre la perte fufdite, reduire la troupe qui estoit pardela à vne miferable neceſſité, n'y ayant plus que la cuiffon de pain ja faite & distribuée.

Ledit Sieur de Poutrincourt s'estoit affocié de deux marchans de Dieppe, lesquels voyans les fufdits Iefuites, fcavoient le Pere Biar homme fort fcavant Gafcon de nation duquel Monsieur le premier President de Bordeaux m'a fait bon recit; & le Pere Nemon prest à s'embarquer, s'opposerent à cela, & ne voulurent permettre qu'ils fussent du voyage, difant qu'ils nourriroient volontiers toute autre forte d'hommes, Capucins, Minimes, Cordeliers, Recollets, &c. mais quant à ceux-ci qu'ils n'en vouloient point, & ne pouvoient tenir leur bien-affeuré en leur compagnie. Que si la Royne vouloit qu'ils y allaffent, on leur rendist leur argent, & qu'ils fiffent ce que bon leur fembleroit. Là deffus voila vn retardemēt. [33] Il faut écrire en Cour, remontrer à fa Majesté l'occasion de cela, demander de l'argent pour rembourfer lesdits Marchans, faire des allées & venuës: cependant la faison fe passe. La Royne leur ordonna deux mille eſcus, outre lesquels ils firent des collectes par les maifons des Princes, Seigneurs, & personnes devotes, d'où ilz tirent aussi de bon argent. Bref ilz rem-

mental to him, and caused a dissolution of his partnership. In such undertakings the State must first be founded, without which the Church cannot exist, as I have said before. I expressed my opinion on this subject to sieur de Saint Just, to the effect that it was necessary to guarantee a living before anything else, to obtain a crop of wheat, to have cattle and domestic fowls, before they could bring these people together. Now this blind haste came very near, besides the above-mentioned losses, reducing the company that was over there to misery and want, as they had nothing left but the one baking of bread, already made and distributed.

Sieur de Poutrincourt had gone into partnership with two Dieppe merchants,⁴⁰ who, seeing the two Jesuits,—namely, Father Biar[d], a very learned man, a native of Gascony, of whom Monsieur the first President of Bordeaux has given me a high opinion; and Father Nemon [Ennemond],—ready to embark, they objected, and did not want them to go upon the voyage, saying that they would willingly provide for all other kinds of men, Capuchins, Minimes, Cordeliers, Recollets, etc.;⁴¹ but, as to these, they did not want them at all, and could not consider themselves safe in their company; that if the Queen wished them to go there, let their [the merchants'] money be refunded, and they might do whatever they wished. Now there is a delay. [33] The Court must be written to, her Majesty must be informed of the situation, the money to reimburse the Merchants must be collected, and journeys must be made: meanwhile, the season is passing away. The Queen granted them two thousand écus, in addition to which collections were made from the families of Princes, Nobles,

boursent lesditz Marchās de chacū deux milles livres, & se mettent en fin à la voile le 26. de Ianvier 1611. Le temps estoit difficile, la plus rude faison de l'hiver. Ils furent quelque temps en mer pensans combattre le vent, mais ils furent contraints de relacher en Angleterre, là où ils furent iusques au 16. de Février. Et le 19. Avril ils furent sur le grand Banc des Moruës, où il trouverent des Navires de Dieppe & de Sainct Malo. Et le 29. estans entre ledit Banc & l'ile de Sable, ils cinglerent l'espace de douze lieuës parmi des glaces hautes comme montagnes, sur lesquelles ils descendirent pour faire de l'eau douce avec icelles, laquelle se trouva bonne. Au fortir desdites glaces, fut rencontré vn Navire du Sieur de Monts, auquel commandoit le Capitaine Champlein, duquel nous attendons le retour, pour entendre quelque nouvelle découverte. Depuis lesdites glaces, ils en rencontrerent d'autres continuellemēt l'espace de cinquante lieuës, lesquelles ils eurent beaucoup de peines à doubler. Et le cinquième de May, ils decouvrirent la terre & port de Campfeau, duquel on peut voir l'affiette dant la grande Table geographique de mō Histoire. [34] Là ledit Pere Biar chanta la Messe. Et depuis ils allerent cotoyans la terre, en forte que le 21. de May ils mouillerēt l'ancre à l'entrée du passage du Port Royal.

Le sieur de Poutrincourt avoit cedit iour fait assembler fes gens pour prier Dieu, & se preparer à la celebrazione de la fête de Pentecôte. Et comme chacun c'estoit rangé a son devoir, voici environ trois heures apres le coucher vne canonade, & vne trompette, qui reveille les dormans. On envoye au devant. On trouve que ce sont amis. Là dessus allegresse & re-

and people devoted to the cause, whence they obtained a great deal of money. In short, they reimbursed each of the Merchants two thousand livres, and at last set sail, the 26th of January, 1611. The weather was disagreeable, this being the roughest part of the winter. They were some time upon the sea, thinking they would be able to resist the winds, but they were compelled to put into port in England, where they remained until the 16th of February. And the 19th of April they were upon the great Cod-fish Banks, where they found some Ships from Dieppe and Saint Malo. The 29th, being between these Banks and the island of Sable, they sailed before the wind a distance of twelve leagues, in the midst of ice, mountain high, upon which they disembarked to get some fresh water, which they found good. In emerging from this ice, they met one of Sieur de Monts' ships, commanded by Captain Champlain,⁴² whose return we are awaiting to learn of some new discoveries. Afterwards, they continued to encounter other masses of ice, for a distance of fifty leagues, which they had much difficulty in outsailing. The fifth of May, they sighted the land and port of Campseau, the location of which can be seen in the great geographical Chart in my History.⁴³ [34] Father Biar[d] sang Mass there; then they sailed along the coast, so that the 21st of May they cast anchor at the entrance to the passage which leads to Port Royal.

The same day sieur de Poutrincourt had called his people together to pray to God, and to prepare themselves for the celebration of the Pentecostal feast. And, as each one had placed himself at his post of duty, suddenly, about three hours after bedtime, there is heard the sound of cannon and trumpet,

jouissance, & actions de graces à Dieu en procession sur la montagne que i'ay mentionné ci-deffus. La premiere demande que fit ledit Sieur à son fils, ce fut de la santé du Roy. Il luy fit réponse qu'il estoit mort. Et interrogé de quelle mort, il lui en fit le recit selo qu'il l'avoit entendu en France. Là deffus chacun se print à pleurer, même les Sauvages apres avoir entendu ce defastre, dont ils ont fait le dueil fort long temps, ainsi qu'ils eussent fait dvn de leurs plus grands Sagamos.

A peine fut arriué ledit sieur de Sainct Iust, que les Sauvages Etechemins (qui ayment le sieur de Poutrincourt) lui vindrent annoncer qu'il y avoit en leurs côtes trois Navires, tant Maloins que Rochelois, lesquels se vantoient de le devorer ainsi que feroit le Gougou vn pauvre Sauvage. Ce qu'entendu par ledit sieur de Poutrincourt, il n'eut la patience de faire descharger le vaisseau nouvellemēt arrivé, ains à l'instant même alla ancrer au-devant desdits [35] trois Navires, & fit venir tous les Capitaines parler à lui, qui preterent obeissance, & leur fit ledit sieur reconoître l'autorité de son fils, comme Vic' Admiral esdiètes terres du Ponant. Vn Navire Maloin voulant faire quelque rebellion, fut prins, mais ledit sieur selon sa debonnai-reté accoustumée, le relacha, apres lui avoir remontré de ne plus venir en mer fans fa Charte partie. Là le pere Birat dit la Messe, & fit ce qu'il peut pour ranger vn chacun à ce qui estoit du devoir. Et particulierement il fit reconoître sa faute à vn ieune hōme qui avoit passé l'hiver parmi les hommes & les femmes Sauvages, lequel demanda pardon à qui il appartenoit, & receut la Communion de sa main. Cela fait chacun revint au Port Royal en grāde rejouissance.

which awakes the sleepers. Scouts are sent out; they are found to be friends. Then there is joy and gladness, and thanksgivings to God in a procession to the mountain of which I have spoken above. The first question which the Sieur asked his son, was about the King's health. He answered that he was dead. In reply to further inquiries, he told the story as he had heard it in France. Thereupon, they all began to weep, even the Savages joining in after they had heard about the catastrophe; and they continued to mourn for a long time, just as they would have done for one of their greatest Sagamores.

Sieur de Saint Just had hardly arrived, when the Etechemin Savages (who love sieur de Poutrincourt) came to announce to him that there were three Ships upon their coasts, from St. Malo and Rochelle, which were boasting that they would devour him as the Gougou⁴⁴ would a poor Savage. Upon hearing this, sieur de Poutrincourt would not even wait to have the lately-arrived ship unloaded; but straightway went and anchored opposite [35] these three Ships, and summoned all the Captains to come and speak with him. They obeyed, and the sieur made them acknowledge the authority of his son, as Vice-Admiral in the said lands of the West. One of the Malouin Ships, while trying to make some resistance, was taken, but the sieur, with his usual good-nature, released it, after having admonished it never again to come to sea without its Charter-party.⁴⁵ There Father Birat [Biard] said Mass, and did all he could to bring each one to a sense of his duty. In particular, he caused a young man to acknowledge his transgressions, who had passed the winter with the men and women Savages: he [the young man] asked pardon from him [Poutrincourt] to whom this was due;

Le retardement fusdit est cause que lesditz navires & autres estoient arrivés devant ledit sieur de Sct. Iust, ils ont enlevé tout ce qui estoit de bon au païs pour le commerce des Castors & autres pelleteries, lesquelles furent veniées des marins du Sieur de Poutrincourt si son fils fut retourné par-dela au temps qui lui avoit été enioint. Et davantage on en eust sauvé pour plus de six mille escus que les Sauvages ont mangées durant l'hiver, lesquelles ilz furent venus troquer audit Port Royal s'il y eust eu les choses qui leur sont nécessaires. Vne faute aussi fut commise avant le partement de Dieppe par l'infidélité du Contre-maistre de navire, lequel ayant charge d'enruner (c'est à dire mettre dedans) le blé, le détournait à son profit. [36] Ce qui ayda à la difette que nos François ont par-dela soufferte. Et neantmoins Dieu les a tellement sustentés, qu'il n'y a eu aucun malade: voire ceux qui en font de retour se plaisent à cela, & n'y en a pas un qui ne soit en volonté d'y retourner.

EFFECTS DE LA GRACE DE DIEU EN LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE.

Nous pouvons mettre ce que je viens de dire entre les effets de la grace de Dieu: comme aussi les racines qu'il leur envoya au besoin, dont nous avons parlé, & sur-ce l'exercice des parefleux qui ne s'effoient voulu occuper à la terre, lesquels sans y penser en cultiverent un beau champ en cherchant desdites racines. Mais particulierement encore l'exemption de maladies, qui est un miracle très-evident. Car dès voyages precedens il ne s'en est jamais passé un seul sans mortalité, quoy qu'on fut bien à l'aife. Et en cetui-ci non seulement les fains ont été preferuez,

and received the Communion from his [the Father's] hand. After this they all returned to Port Royal, with great rejoicing.

In the delay previously mentioned may be found the reason why these ships and others, having arrived before sieur de Sainct Just, took away all that was valuable in the country as regards the Beaver and other fur trade, which would have reverted to Sieur de Poutrincourt's sailors if his son had returned from over the sea at the time stipulated. And besides, more than six thousand escus [écus] worth of peltries would have been saved which the Savages devoured during the winter, and which they would have come to Port Royal to exchange, had they found there what they needed. A wicked act was also committed before the ship's departure from Dieppe, by the Overseer of the boat, who, being charged to load [*enruner*] the wheat, appropriated it to his own profit, [36] which contributed to the scarcity which our countrymen suffered over there. And yet God so sustained them, that no one has been sick; even those who have come back, are fortunate in that respect, and there is not one of them who would not like to return to that country.

EFFECTS OF GOD'S GRACE IN NEW FRANCE.

What I have just related may be attributed to the grace of God; as also the roots that were sent them in their need, which we have already mentioned; and furthermore, the exercise given the lazy ones who would not take part in tilling the soil, and who, without intending it, prepared for cultivation a fine field, while seeking for these roots. But more particularly the exemption from sickness, which is a

mais aussi ceux qui estoient affligez de maladie en France ont la receu guarison. Tefmoin vn honéte personnage nommé Bertrand, lequel à Paris estoit journallement tourmenté de la goutte, de laquelle il a esté totalement exempt par dela. Mais depuis qu'il est de retour, le même mal est retourné avec plus d'effects de douleurs qu'auparauant, quoy qu'il se garde fans aucun exercice.

[37] Mais qui ne recognoistra vne speciale grace de Dieu en la persone dudit Sieur de Poutrincourt & ses gens, lors qu'il fut porté par vn vent de terre à la haute mer en danger d'aller voir la Floride, ou d'estre accablé des ondes, au retour de la conduite de son fils, ainsi que nous avons rapporté ci-dessus.

I'appelle aussi miracle de voir que les pauvres peuples de delà ont conceu telle opinion de la Religion Chrétienne, que si-tost qu'ilz sont malades ilz demâdent estre baptizez, voire encore qu'ilz soient fains, ils y vont avec vne grande Foy, & disent qu'ilz veulent estre semblables à nous recognoissans fort bien leur defaut en cela. Membertou grand Sagamos exhorte vn chacū des Sauvages à se faire Chretiens. Et tefmoignēt tous que depuis qu'ils ont receu le baptême ils ne craignent plus rien, ilz vont hardiment de nuict, le diable ne les tourmente plus.

Quand le Sieur de Sainct Iust arriva à Campfeau, les Sauvages non baptizez s'enfuioient de peur. Mais les baptizés en nombre d'environ cinquante s'approcherent hardiment disans, Nous sommes tes frères Chretiens comme toy, & tu nous aymes. C'est pourquoy nous ne fuyons point, & n'avons point de peur: Et porterent ledit Sieur sur leurs bras & épaules jufques en leurs cabannes.

very evident miracle. For, as to former sojourns, not one has been passed without some deaths, although they were well provided for. And in this one not only the healthy remained well, but also those who were afflicted with ill-health in France have there recovered. A witness of this is a worthy man named Bertrand,²⁹ who, at Paris, was daily tormented with the gout, from which he was entirely free over there. But, since he came back here, the same trouble has returned with more severity than ever, although he takes care not to indulge in excesses.

[37] But who will not recognize God's peculiar grace in the case of Sieur de Poutrincourt and his crew, when, upon his return from accompanying his son, he was carried by a land breeze out into the open sea, in danger of making a visit to Florida, or of being overwhelmed by the billows, as we have stated above.

I call it also a miracle that these poor people have conceived such an opinion of the Christian Religion, that as soon as they are sick they ask to be baptized; and, even when they are well, they approach it with great Faith, saying they wish to be like us, fully recognizing their own shortcomings. Membertou, the great Sagamore, exhorts every one of the Savages to become Christians. All bear witness that since they have been baptized they are afraid of nothing, and go out boldly at night, the devil no longer tormenting them.

When Sieur de Sainct Just arrived at Campseau, the Savages who had not been baptized ran away in fear. But those who were baptized, about fifty in number, approached boldly, saying, "We are thy brothers, Christians as thou art, and thou lovest us. Hence we fly not away and are not afraid:" and

Sur la fin du Printemps les enfans de Membertou estans allés à la chasse, en laquelle ilz firent long feiour, avint que ledit Membertou fut pressé de necessité de vivres, & en cette disette [38] il se souvint de ce qu'il avoit autrefois oui dire à noz gës que Dieu qui nourrit les oiseaux du ciel, & les bêtes de la terre, ne delaiffe iamais ceux qui ont esperance en lui, felon la parolle de notre Sauveur.

En cette necessité donc il se met à prier Dieu, ayant enuoyé sa fille voir au ruisseau du moulin s'il y auroit point apparence de pouuoir faire pecherie. Il n'eust esté gueres long temps en prières que voici sadite fille arriver criant à haute voix, *Nouchich'*, *Beggin pech'-kmok*, *Beggin éta pech'kmok*: c'est à dire: Pere, le haren est venu; le haren certes est venu. Et vit par effect le soin que Dieu a des siens, à son contentement. Ce qu'il avoit vne autrefois eprouvé, ayant eu (ou les siens) à tel besoin la rencontre d'un Ellan, & encore vne autrefois vne Baleine échouée.

Qui voudra nier que ce ne soit vn special soin de la providence de Dieu envers les siens, quand il enuoya au Sieur de Poutrincourt le secours désiré le iour de la Pentecoste dernière, duquel nous avons fait mention cy-deffus?

Je ne veux rememorer ce que i'ay écrit en mon Histoire de la Nouvelle-France, livre 4. chap. 4. de la merveille avenüe au premier voyage du Sieur de Monts en la personne de Maitre Nicolas Aubri Prestre d'une bonne famille de Paris, lequel fut fe[i]ze iours perdu dans les bois, & au bout dudit temps trouvé fort extenué, à la vérité, mais encore vivant, & vit encore à present, aymant singulierement les entreprises qui se font pour ce païs là, où le desit [39] le porte plus

they carried the Sieur upon their arms and shoulders to their wigwams.

Towards the end of Spring, when Membertou's children had gone hunting, where they remained a long time, it happened that Membertou was sorely pressed for food; and in this time of need [38] he remembered that he had formerly heard our people say that God, who feeds the birds of the air and the beasts of the fields, never abandons those who have hope in him, according to the words of our Savior.

So, in this necessity, he began to pray to God, after having sent his daughter to see if there were any signs of fish in the mill-creek. He had not been a long time in prayer, when lo, his daughter comes running back crying in a loud voice, *Nouchich'*, *Beggin pech'kmok*, *Beggin éta pech'kmok*; that is, "Father, the herring have come; the herring have come indeed." And he saw effectually, and to his satisfaction, God's care over his own. He (or some of his family) also had proof of this upon another occasion, in a like time of need, when he encountered an Elk, and another time a stranded Whale.

Who will deny that it was a special manifestation of the providence of God towards his own, when he sent to Sieur de Poutrincourt the desired help upon the day of last Pentecost, of which we have made mention above?

I will not repeat what I have written in my History of New France, book 4, chap. 4, of the wonderful thing which happened, during Sieur de Monts' first sojourn, to Master Nicolas Aubry,⁴⁶ Priest, of a good family in Paris, who was sixteen days lost in the woods, and at the end of that time was found, very much emaciated, in truth, but still living; and he is living yet, and is singularly devoted to the enter-

qu'il ne fit iamais, comme aussi tous autres qui y ont fait voyage, lesquels i'ay préque tous veux desirieux d'y hazarder leur fortune, si Dieu leur ouvroit le chemin pour y faire quelque chose. A quoy les grans ne veulent point entendre, & les petits n'ont les ailes assez fortes pour voler iusques là. Neantmoins c'est chose étrange & incroyable de la resolution tant dudit Sieur de Monts, que dudit Sieur de Poutrincourt, le premier desquels a toujours continué depuis dix ans d'envoyer par delà: & le second, nonobstant les difficultez que nous avons recitées ci-dessus, n'a laissé d'y r'envoyer nouvellement, attendant ici le renouveau, pour aller revoir les qens. Dieu doint à lvn & à l'autre le moyen de faire chose qui réussisse à la gloire de son nom, & au bien des pauvres peuples que nous appellons Sauvages.

A DIEV SEVL HONNEVR
ET GLOIRE.

prises being carried on in behalf of that country, whither his [39] desires more than ever attract him, as well as all others who have once made the voyage; these I have observed are almost all desirous of risking their fortunes there, if God would open up the way for them to do something. To this the great do not care to lend their ears, and the small have not wings strong enough to fly so far. Nevertheless there is something strange and incredible in the perseverance of both Sieur de Monts and Sieur de Poutrincourt; the former having continued to send expeditions over there for ten years; and the latter, in spite of the difficulties enumerated above, having recently sent over another one, awaiting here the return of spring, to go again to see his people. May God grant to both the means of doing something which may succeed to the glory of his name, and to the welfare of the poor people whom we call Savages.

TO GOD ALONE THE HONOR
AND GLORY.

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tenu pour deuëment signifié, cõme plus amplement
est declaré par les patentes de sa Majesté. Donné à
Paris le 27. iour de Novembre, l'an de grace 1608.
Et de nostre regne l'vnziéme.

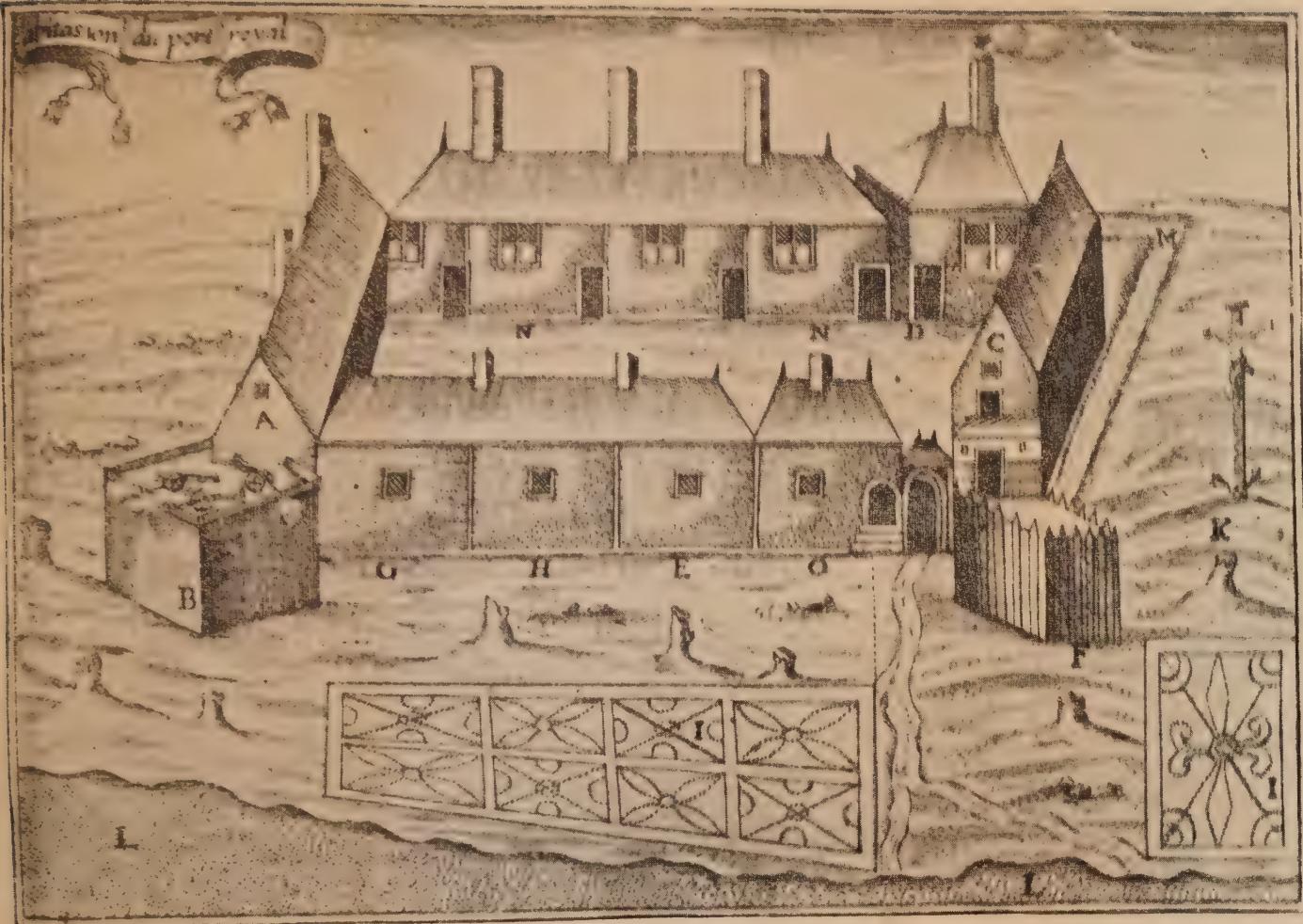
Par le Roy en son Confeil.

Signé, BRIGARD.

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By the King in Council.

Signed, BRIGARD.



- A. Logemens des artisans.
- B. Plate forme où estoit le canon.
- C. Le magasin.
- D. Logemēt du sieur de Pontgraué & Champlain.
- E. La forge.

- F. Palissade de pieux.
- G. Le four.
- H. La cuisine.
- O. Petite maisonnette où l'on retiroit les vtansiles de nos barches; que de puis le sieur de

Poitrincourt fit rebastrir, & y logea le sieur Boulay quand le sieur du Pont s'en riuint en France.

- P. La porte de l'abitation.
- Q. [K] Le cemetiere.
- R. La riuiere.

[Facsimile of Champlain's perspective sketch of fort at Port Royal, from "Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain" (Paris, 1613).]

XII

RELATIO RERUM GESTARUM

in Nova-Francica Missione, Annis 1613 & 1614

LYONS: CLAUDE CAYNE, 1618

SOURCE: We follow the general style of O'Callaghan's Reprint No. 6. The Title and Tabula Rerum are the work of that Editor. The Text is from the original volume of *Annuæ Litteræ Societatis Iesu, Anni CICIC XII*, pp 562-605, in the Riggs Library, Georgetown, D. C. The bracketed pagination is that of the *Annuæ*; that in Roman, of O'Callaghan.

RELATIO

RERVM GESTARUM

IN

Novo-Francica Miffione

ANNIS 1613 & 1614.



Ex Annis Litteris Societatis IESV impressis

LVGDVN,
APVD CLAVDIVM CAYNE,
TYPOGRAPHVM.

XIX CCI CI

A RELATION
OF OCCURRENCES
IN THE
Mission of New France

DURING THE YEARS 1613 AND 1614.

*From the Published Annual Letters of the
Society of JESUS*

LYONS,
CLAUDE CAYNE,
PRINTER.

1618

[iii] Tabvla Rervm

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[562] In Novam Franciam, sev Canadianam Missio.

NOVA FRANCIA, Brasiliæ ac Peruuiο continens ad Boream vastissima regio, Aquitanico Galliæ littori ad occasum obuersa, directas ab Occidente in Orientem, & contrà, lineas cum [563] nostra Francia communes habet; ab eaque non ita longo maris tracieū octingentarum, aut is vbi latissimus est, mille leucarum dirimitur interuallo. Ex huiusmodi oppositu & vicinitate nostratis Fraciæ, Nouam Franciam maiores eam appellarunt; cui nomenclationi & illa altera, rei maximè congruens, accessit ex euentu caufa, quòd eam terrarum adhuc incognitam oram primi mortaliū Franci nostrates deprehenderunt, crebrisque nauigationibus, centum eoque amplius abhinc annis, frequentarunt. Canadiæ verò nomen, quod vulgo vniuersam in eam regionem confertur, eius modò plagæ Septemtrionalis proprium est, quæ CANADÆ fluminis, & nobilis sinus, cui à Sancto Laurentio nomen est, copiosis aquis alluitur. Enimuerò vniuersæ Nouæ Franciæ amplitudo, nunc, ad Floridæ confinia, multò licet quam nuper contractior, vnde quadragesimo tamè gradu, versùs Austrum, determinatur: ultrâque nostratis Franciæ latitudinem non paucis leucis porrigitur: exinde autem ignotis adhuc finibus in Aquilonem, sicut & immēsis tractibus in Sinicum mare ad Occidentem excurrit: quâ denique Eurum spectat, nostro Aquitanico Oceano, Britannicōque, ipsi linearum parallelis obiecto, definitur.

[562] The Mission in New France, or Canada.

NEW FRANCE, an immense region adjoining Brazil and Peru on the North, and opposite the coast of Aquitaine in a westerly direction, is situated between the same parallels of latitude as [563] is our France; and is separated from it by the very moderate voyage of 800 leagues, or, where the ocean is broadest, of 1,000 leagues. Because it is thus opposite and near to our France, our ancestors called it New France; and for this nomenclature another especially appropriate reason occurred in the good fortune by which our French fellow-countrymen were the first to take possession of this hitherto unknown region, and visited it in frequent voyages more than a hundred years ago. But the name of Canada, which is commonly given to this entire country, belongs only to that Northern region which is washed by the abundant waters of the river CANADA,⁴⁸ and of the noble gulf which is called St. Lawrence. Indeed, the whole territory of New France, although now much more confined than formerly, towards the frontiers of Florida, is nevertheless bounded on the South by the thirty-ninth parallel, and extends many leagues beyond the breadth of our France. Moreover, it stretches with yet unknown limits towards the North, and in vast expanses to the Chinese sea on the West; finally it is bounded Eastward by our Aquitanian and Breton Ocean, lying opposite and between the same parallels.

CAELI eadem omnino, quæ nostri Gallici temperatio, ex ea ratione Climatis eiusdem, quam indicauimus, inesse illi regioni debet, vti reuera inest. Soli autem quin par quoque sit ratio, nihil prohiberet, si iugis adefset campestris terræ cultura: & perpetuarum ferè siluarum abeffet densa opacitas. [564] Nam opima omnino vniuersi terreni viscera, facile prodit ingens arborum amplitudo, atque proceritas: sumam quoque glebam vbertate multa pingue, tota planicie camporum, hilariter herbescens terræ viriditas ostendit.

GENS ea distinctis lingua & fede multis populis continetur, nulla vsquam consiliorum aut fortunarum communione deuinctis: nulla nec lege, nec arte; nullo nisi piscatus, & venatus vitæ subsidio instructis: vix vlla Numinis cogitatione, aut salutis cura informatis: ad omne opus ignauis: stupidis ad artes, quæ ingenio aut memoria nitantur: in summa, belluinis pænè hominibus constat ea natio. Populus cum longinquō propinquōve populo vix habet commercium, nisi quod bello inferendo, aut defendendo potest intervenire. Immo, neque idem populus, eadem loci regione, ac tuguriorum vicinitate iunctus, fermè vnam coire folet, nisi vt de armis, aduersūm communes hostes capita conferat. Exterarum verò nationum Francicam vnam ferè suos in portus admittunt, Fibrinis, atque huiusmodi pellibus suis distrahendis, necessariāque veste, ac supellectile permutandis.

HANC noui orbis partem ex Francis nauarchis primi explorarunt Britones, anno quarto post millesimum

THERE ought to be in that region the same sort of Climate in every respect as that of our France, from the fact, as we pointed out, of its similar situation, and this is actually the case. Moreover, there is no reason why the soil should not be equally fertile, if the cultivation of the plains were long continued upon the uplands, and if it were not for the dense shades of the almost unbroken forests. [564] For the subsoil of the whole country is very rich, as trees of immense size and height readily demonstrate. That the surface-soil is also endued with great fertility is shown by the pleasing luxuriance of the vegetation over all the plains.

THE people comprise many tribes diverse in language and situation, united by no mutual purposes or interests; possessing neither laws nor arts, and knowing no other means of gaining a livelihood than by fishing and hunting; having almost no conception of Deity or concern for salvation; indolent in every occupation, and dull in those pursuits which depend upon talent or memory. On the whole, the race consists of men who are hardly above the beasts. One tribe hardly ever has intercourse with another, either distant or near, except such as may arise in the prosecution of offensive or defensive warfare. Even the members of the same tribe, united by a common location and the vicinity of their dwellings, are seldom accustomed to meet together, except to take measures concerning war against a common enemy. Of foreign nations, the French are almost the only people whom they admit to their harbors, for the sake of disposing of their Beaver skins and other peltries, in exchange for necessary clothing and utensils.

AMONG French navigators, the Bretons first explored this part of the new world in 1504;⁴⁹ and after they brought back reports of it, they had in

quingentesimum; de qua vbi renunciauerant, eius repetendæ nauigationis, vel comites, vel æmulatores habuerunt deinceps frequentissimè, tum Normannos, tum cæteros Gallici Oceani accolas. Vnde uicesimo post anno, Ioannes Verazanus [565] Florentinus, vicefimo item, ac tricesimo quarto Iacobus Quartierus Gallus, Brito, cum imperio missi ab Francisco Primo, Gallorum Rege, ipsius auspiciis occupatam regionem illam, eius posterorumque Regum iurisdictioni vindicarunt, cuius possessionem, per interualla suffectæ aliæ atque aliæ Francorum expeditiones, in hanc usque diem Gallorum Regibus afferere perseuerarunt. De nostris verò missi quoque fuit anno superiore, qui Henrici Quarti auctoritate populos, Francico nomini amicitia & Societate iunctos, ac reliquos etiam Canadiens, Euangelij tanto sanctiore foedere, Christo regum regi deuincirent. Quo de negotio antè quam instituamus dicere, præter ea quæ generatim complexi sumus, neceſſe est de loco ac gente sigillatim quædam capita enucleatiū explicemus.

NOVA Francia Gallis adeuntibus gemino littore patet; altero, quod angusta fronte Oceano nostro, & Orienti obtenditur: altero, quod productiore tractu ad Floridæ usque confinia Austro obiacet. Istud latus portibus, atque ostiis fluminum frequens est, quibus commodè penetrari possit in regionis mediterranea, & hac ferè Galli terras illas ineunt: illud verò, Franciæ nostræ obiectum littus, quoniam oppositu ingentis insulæ, quam Nouam Terram appellant, importuosum pænè est, ea regione nostrates non siveunt. Eius

subsequent voyages thither, many companions or rivals,—not only the Normans, but also other dwellers on the Sea-coast of France. In the nineteenth and also in the twentieth year thereafter, John Verazano, [565] a Florentine; and, in the thirty-fourth year thereafter, Jacques Quartier, a Frenchman of Brittany, were sent as commanders by Francis I., King of France; and, by the occupation of this region under his authority, brought it under the jurisdiction of that King, and also of his successors. Various French expeditions, sent out at intervals, continue to this day to maintain that possession for the Kings of France. Some of our brethren were also sent last year in order, by the authority of Henry IV., to unite the tribes joined in friendship and Alliance with the French, and also the remaining Canadians, by the far holier tie of the Gospel, to Christ, the king of kings. Before we begin to speak concerning this undertaking, we must, in addition to our general description, explain more fully some matters concerning the country and people.

NEW France presents to the French, as they approach it, two coasts, one which borders with a narrow frontage upon our Ocean to the East; and another far longer, which extends Southward to the confines of Florida. The former side abounds in bays and estuaries, by which one may readily penetrate into the interior; by these routes the French usually enter these regions; but, since the other coast, lying opposite our France, is rendered almost inaccessible by the intervention of a great island which they call Newfoundland, our people do not approach in that direction. The immense plain in that quarter is watered by a river of vast size and mighty volume, its course directly eastward from almost the farthest

orbis vastissimā planitem ingentissimi aluei, aquis copiosissimum flumen irrigat, directo limite ab ultimo pænè occasu ad ortum, quoad angusto freto ad insulam Terræ [566] Nouæ, ipsiusque insulæ oppositu, eius ostia in Austrinum littus inflectantur. Ei fluui genitile nomen est *Sacqué*, Sanctum Laurentium Galli appellarunt; cuius caput amplius quingentis inde leucis indigenæ ab lacu in trecentas patente leucas repetunt. In hunc amnium principem alij amnes nobiles ab Aquilone influunt, nempe Saguenaiūm, Tergeminus amnis, seu tres amnes, simul coëuntes, Algomequium, & cæteri non pauci. Saguenaij quingentarum, Tergemini quadringentarum leucarum nauigatio longè porrigitur in Boream. E montibus, ad ripam Austrinam Saquéi amnis, transuersi feruntur in Meridianum Oceani littus alij quoque fluuij celebres; vnde populis, atque illius tractus regionibus plerisque gentilia ducta sunt nomina; sed eorum nonnullis sui moris appellationes Franci posteà indiderunt. Fluuij autem sunt hi ad Austrum conuersi, Sanctus Ioannes, Pentegoëtius, Quinibequius, Choüacoetius, Norembega, quem postremum amnem Champlænius eumdem ac Pentegoetium esse contendit. Populi trans Saquéum, Sanctumve-Laurentium, versùs Aquilonem, non procul illius ostiis, sunt Canadij, & Excomminkuij: longè verò ab his, eadem Boreali ripa, versùs occasum, è regione Floridæ, incolunt Algomeguij, atque Ochasteguij. Cis Sanctum-Laurentium, in Australi ora degunt item Canadij, ad ipsum magni amnis flexum, ab Euro in Austrum declinatis. Post eos ad Occasum

west, until, by reason of the narrow strait at the island of Newfoundland [566] and the opposition of the island itself, its mouth is broadly curved towards the Southern coast. The native name of that river is *Sacqué*;⁵⁰ the French have called it St. Lawrence; its source the natives seek more than 500 leagues distant, in a lake 300 leagues in width. Into this main stream other noble rivers flow from the North, such as the Saguenay,⁵¹ the Three Rivers,⁵²—or three rivers flowing together,—the Algomequi,⁵³ and many others. These rivers are open for navigation far Northward—the Saguenay five hundred leagues, the Three Rivers four hundred leagues. From the mountains⁵⁴ upon the Southern bank of the Sacqué River other notable streams flow across to the Southern coast of the Ocean, and from these the native names for most of the tribes and districts of that region are derived; but upon some of them the French afterward conferred names after their own fashion. The rivers flowing Southward are the St. John, Pentegoët, Quinibequi, Choüacoet,¹¹ and Norembega, which last stream Champlain⁵⁵ asserts to be the same as the Pentegoët. The tribes across the Sacqué or St. Lawrence, towards the North, not far from its mouth, are the Canadis⁵⁶ and Excomminguis¹⁰; but at a distance from these, on the same Northern shore, toward the west, in the direction of Florida, dwell the Algomeguis⁵⁷ and the Ochasteguis.⁵⁸ Across the St. Lawrence, on the Southern bank, the Canadi live also, directly at the bend of the great river, which turns from the East towards the South.⁵⁹ Beyond them, toward the West, lie the Souriquois, inhabitants of the country of Acadia;⁶⁰ thence, toward the Pentegoët or Norembega River, the Pentegoëts;⁶ [567] to their right, looking Westward, about the fortress at

vergūt Souriquij, Acadiæ regionis incolæ: deinde ad Pentegoetium, seu Norembegam fluuium, Pentegoetij: [567] ad horum dextram, Occafum spectantium, circa *Quebecum* arcem, Montagnetij: post Pentegoetios recto tractu Eteminquij, ad amnem *Quinibequium*: inde Almochiquij ad flumen Choüacoetium, latissimis campis diffusi: denique inter Floridam, & Sacquéum magnum amnem, Iroquij campestribus, montosisque locis latissimè habitant. Reliquos Nouæ Franciæ populos multos, præfertim trans magnum Sacquéum amnem, Aquilonares, Galli nostrates non nisi ex auditione norunt. Ex notis autem, amicos, ac pæne Socios habent Souriquios, Eteminquios, Montagnetios, Almochiquios, Algomequios, & Ochasteguios: iftis capitales hostes Iroquios, hostili quoque in se animo experiuntur, eo maximè nomine, quòd Iroquiis Galli cum iporum hostibus bellum intulerint. Horum quidem populorum foli agriculturam, infcienter tamen, exercent Almochiquij, Iroquij, & Ochasteguij, miliumque Indicum, & fabam Brasilicam ferunt.

PROMONTORIA celebria Franciam Nouam ineuntibus Meridiano littore occurrunt, Britonicum, ad ipsa ostia magni amnis, hoc est Sancti Laurentij: ab hoc deinde Heuæum, Arietinum, Sabulosum, Bifidum, Sanctus Lüdouicus, Album, Sancta Helena. Eamdem oram à Promontorio Britonico legentibus obuij sunt portus, Campfæus, Sefambræus, Regius, Pulcher. Mediterranea verò per Sacquéum amnem, & Canadiæ fines subire volentibus, præteruehenda sunt, Britonicum, ad ostia eiusdem fluuij; Sanctus-Laurentius; Episco-

Quebec,⁵⁹ the Montagnais; beyond the Pentegoëts, directly toward the Quinibequi River, the Eteminquis; then the Almochiquois, at the Choïacoet River, scattered over a very extensive region; finally, between Florida and the great Sacqué River, the Iroquois inhabit enormous tracts of both level and mountainous country. Many of the remaining tribes of New France, especially those of the North, across the great Sacqué River, our French countrymen know only from hearsay. Among those whom they know, however, they have secured as friends, and almost as allies, the Souriquois, Eteminquis, Montagnais, Almochiquois, Algomequois, and Ochasteguis. The Iroquois, who are deadly enemies of these tribes, prove hostile to the French also, mainly because the latter have waged war against them, in company with their enemies. Certain of these tribes—the Almochiquois, Iroquois, and Ochasteguis—practice agriculture, though unskillfully, and plant Indian corn and the Brazilian bean.⁶¹

NUMEROUS headlands meet those who approach New France by the Southern coast: Breton, at the very mouth of the great river St. Lawrence; next in order, La Hève, Mouton, Sable, Fourchu, St. Louis, Blanc, Ste. Hélène.⁶² Those who coast along the same shore from Cape Breton meet the harbors called Campseau, Sesambre, Port Royal, and Beaubassin.⁶³ But those who wish to journey inland, beyond the borders of Canada, by way of the Sacqué river, must pass Cape Breton, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence; Cap de l'Evêque, [568] Cap Chat,⁶⁴ and some other headlands,—finally reaching Tadoussac bay, at the mouth of the Saguenay river, where it enters the Sacqué.

Moreover, in this great extent of territory, by

pium, [568] Chataëum, & alia nonnulla promontoria: Tadouffacus denique portus ad Saguenaij fluminis ostia Sacquéum ineuntis.

Porrò in tam immenso terrarum ambitu, frequentibus expeditionibus, annis amplius centum, Franci domicilia omnino quinque constituerunt, quorum primum posuit Iacobus Quartierus posteriore sua nauigatione, non ad *Sanctæ Crucis*, quæ nunc est, importufas angustias, & cautes: sed in iis pænè vestigiis vbi nunc est Quebecum, Sancta Cruce quindenit leucis citerius. Alterum Petrus du Gas, dominus de Monts, anno quarto supra millesimum sexcentesimum erexit, in angusta insula, inter Eteminquios, in Australi promedium littore: cui domicilio ac insulæ nomen *Sancta Crux* indidit. Idem eodem anno, in quasi peninsula, oræ Acadicæ, ad Regium Portum, eiusdem nominis exiguam arcem fossa & aggere munitam exstruxit. Portus Regius, & portui cognominis arx, sunt in ea, quam Franciam *Baiam* vocant, centum quinquaginta leucis à Campsæo promontorio, leucas octo intra continentem. *Baia* scilicet Francis, sicut Hispanis, est amplior terræ sinus ad oram maris, aut fluminis maioris, angulato orbiculatōve recessu, influenti aquæ ad interiora continentis præbens aditum. In extremo Francico Sinu portus est octingentorum passuum ostio perius, duas leucas longus, vnam latus, duūm millium capax maiorum nauium, cui ab nobilitate *Regius Portus* nomen à Champlænio Franco est inditum. Tertiam sedem quarto post anno condidit dominus de [569] Monts ad Quebecium cornu, in

means of numerous expeditions and in more than a century, the French have established only five settlements;⁶⁵ the first of these was founded by Jacques Quartier during his last voyage, not at the inaccessible narrows and rocks of the place now called *Saincte Croix*,⁶⁶ but in almost the very spot where now stands Quebec, fifteen leagues on this side of Ste. Croix. Another was built by Pierre du Gas, sieur de Monts, in the year 1604, upon a small island, among the Eteminquis, close to their Southern shore, to which settlement and island he gave the name of *Saincte Croix*. He also in the same year, upon a sort of peninsula on the Acadian coast, near Port Royal, erected a small fort of the same name, defended by a ditch and a rampart. Port Royal, and the fort of the same name as the harbor, are on what is called French Bay, one hundred and fifty leagues from Cape Campseau, eight leagues from the sea. A bay among the French, as among the Spanish, is a large indentation in the land at the shore of the sea or of a great river, angular or round in shape, giving the waters entrance to the interior regions. At the head of French Bay is a harbor, reached by a channel three-quarters of a mile long; it is two leagues long and one wide, capable of receiving 2,000 large ships, and because of its majestic appearance was named *Port Royal* by the Frenchman Champlain. A third settlement was founded by sieur de [569] Monts, four years later, at the point of Quebec, on the Southern bank of the Sacqué river, near the isle of Orleans,⁶⁷ in the territory of the Montagnais; Champlain, who was in charge of the work, called this fort Quebec, from the name of the district,⁴¹ and observed that in almost the same place Jacques Quartier's post of Ste. Croix had in former

Australi ripa Sacquéi amnis, è regione Aurelianæ insulæ, in Montagnetiorum solo; quam arcem Champlænius, qui operi præfuit, Quebecum à foli nomine appellauit, & eodem pænè loco Sanctam Crucem Iacobi Quartieri arcem olim conditam fuisse obseruauit. Quinti & vltimi Francici domicilij fundamenta Patres nostri iaciebant, ad ostium amnis Pentegoetij, cùm ab irrumpentibus Anglis opere prohibiti, atque in captiuitatem contra fas, & ius gentium abducti sunt. Iis ad hunc modum præmissis capitibus, quæ alioqui moratura erant institutam rerum narrationem, ad suscepsum à Patribus nostris Canadicam expeditionem stylum conferamus.

Potrincourtius Regij Portus castellum à domino de Monts sibi dono datum, eo ipso tempore, quo condebatur, ab Henrico Quarto petiuerat, eo iure, quo optimo, sibi afferi, vindicarique? ac eius non modò vindicias, sed nexum etiam impetrauerat. Secundum quod ius arcis, & imperij præterea certis finibus in Noua Francia Potrincourtio attributi, Rex Patri Cotono significat, velle se vti Sociorum opera in Barbaris illis ad Christum adiungendis; proinde scriberet ad Generalem Societatis Præpositum suo nomine, vti designarentur Patres in eam rem, quos primo quoque tempore illuc mittendos ipse Rex ad se accerferet, annuis duūm millium Librarum vectigalibus illi Missioni attributis. Annus huius sæculi octauus agebatur, cùm Rex ita de Canadicis rebus decerneret, cuius tamen cogitationes grauioribus negotiis aliò feuocan-

days been built. Our Fathers were laying the foundations of the fifth and last French settlement at the mouth of the Pentegoët river, when they were prevented from prosecuting the work by a descent of the English, and carried off into captivity, contrary to justice and the law of nations. These details, which otherwise would have delayed the orderly narrative of events, having been thus first explained, let us devote our pen to the Canadian expedition undertaken by our Fathers.

Potrincourt had asked of Henry IV. the fort at Port Royal, because it had been granted as a gift to him by sieur de Monts at the very time of its establishment, which was perhaps the best reason he could give for advancing and maintaining his pretensions, and had obtained not merely a claim upon it, but its possession. Following the grant of this fort, and also the government of a definite territory in New France, to Potrincourt, the King informed Father Coton⁶⁸ that he wished to employ the services of our Brethren in bringing the Savages to Christ. He also desired him to write to the General of the Society, in his own name, in order that Fathers might be selected for this undertaking, whom the King himself would take measures to send thither at the first available opportunity, while an annuity of 2,000 livres was to be allowed the Mission. It was during the eighth year of this century when the King made this decision in regard to Canadian affairs; but, in spite of his plans, by reason of more weighty business which called his attention elsewhere, [570] and also the hindrance caused by his death, but especially because of the negligence of those who were managing the Canadian province for the Crown, the departure of our brethren was delayed until the third year thereafter. Moreover,

tibus, [570] eius quoque interueniente obitu, sed eorum maximè negligentia, qui Regio nomine Canadicam prouinciam administrabant, nostrorum profectio in tertium pòst annum est dilata. Siue autem casu quopiam, siue hominum consilio, eam proferri trienni toto contigit, cùm iam in procinctu nostri essent; obortæ tamen subitò sunt eæ difficultates, quibus planum fieret, Cacodæmoni esse inuisa nostrorum in ea profectione consilia. Regina quingentos aureos nummos, ex defuncti Regis decreto numerauerat: Domina de Vernueil, de Sourdis, de Guercheuille, alia sacrum aræ instrumentum, alia linteum vestem copi ofam, alia peramplum viaticum munificè contribuerant: Pater Petrus Biardus, & Pater Enemundus Maffæus èd destinati animis ingentibus se compara uerant, vela & ventos audiè præstolantes. Status condiclus dies vela faciendi eis conuenerat cum Biencourtio Potrincourtij filio, & Thoma Robinio, expeditionis ducibus, ad octauum calendas Nouembris anni decimi supra sexcentesimum; sed cùm eo die adfuissent, nauigium sarciebatur, & oscitanter quidem, in continenti; tantum aberat, vt idoneo commenatu & nauigationis, & Canadice familiæ instructum esset. Instaurandæ naui suas operas, materiamque locauerant Caluiniani duo, & quia Biencourtio ac Robinio ad operarum mercedem deerant facultates, Caluiniani mercatores certam nautici fructus partem pauci fibi erant, eoque nomine, pro dominis in ea naue gerere posse fibi videbantur Iesuitis igitur locum

either by some accident, or by the purpose of men, it came to be delayed the entire space of three years, although our brethren were already equipped. Such difficulties, also, suddenly arose as plainly showed that our plans for this voyage were displeasing to the Evil Spirit. The Queen had paid over 500 golden crowns, according to the decree of the late King; Mesdames *de Vernueil*, *de Sourdis*, and *de Guercheville* had given generous contributions,—one, the sacred furniture of the altar; another, an abundance of linen vestments; the third, a very liberal allowance of money for the expenses of the voyage. Father Pierre Biard and Father Enemund Massé had been selected for the undertaking, and had prepared themselves with great courage, eagerly awaiting their departure. The day for sailing had been agreed upon by them with Biencourt, the son of Potrincourt, and Thomas Robin, the leaders of the expedition, for the 24th day of October, 1610; but, when they arrived upon that day, the ship was undergoing repairs, and that, too, in a negligent manner, upon the land; so far was it from being provided with suitable equipment either for navigation or for the Canadian colony. Two Calvinists had devoted their services and resources to the repair of the ship, and, because Biencourt and Robin lacked means to pay for the work, the Calvinist merchants had contracted for a specified portion of the profits of the voyage. By this right, as masters in the ship, they thought themselves able to declare, in the presence of the Jesuits, that there would be no place for them in the vessel; [571] and they emphatically asserted that, if it should be otherwise, they would straightway forsake the prosecution of the work, and all other business in their contract. From this resolution, not even the authority of the Queen

in nauigio [571] non futurum palam, & affeueranter edicunt, aut si futurum sit, ab illius operis redemptura, & cætera omni pactione se iamiam discedere: qua de sententia nec ipsius Reginæ auctoritas, ab Domino *de Cicoigne*, Dieppenis vrbis regio Præside, grauiter, se uereque denunciata, Caluini affeclas non potuit dimouere. Desperata res planè videbatur, quòd hæc vna modò nauis in Nouam Franciam anno illo adornaretur; & non paterentur duo illi Caluiniani villa se ratione demitigari: quæ nostra destitutio Dominam Guercheuillæam, religiosissimam, & ingentis animi feminam, acriter pupugit; sed ea qua est follertia, confestim ad manum habuit rationem, qua non iam vt vectores nos, sed vt partiarios, exclusis inhumanis Hæreticis, in nauem induceret. Quattuor igitur milium Librarum stipem de principibus viris ac feminis ex Aula, paucis diebus, corrogat, quantum erat opus ad nauem instruendam; eaque collata summa, Caluinianos illos duos nautica societate deiicit, simulque idoneam fortem constituit, vnde Canadicæ negotiationis præfecti perpetuam quotannis pensionem nostræ Missioni penderent. Sublatis itaque, illius feminæ industria, quæ nos morabantur impedimentis, ternis ferè mensibus adornandæ naui consumtis, huius tandem fæculi anno vndecimo, ante diem sextum calendas Februarias, è littore Dieppensi, Deo duce, soluimus, totoque quadrimestri nauigantes Campsæum in portum, Australis littoris Nouæ Franciæ appulsi sumus; inde centum viginti leucarum vel maritima, vel

herself, pronounced with dignity and severity by Sieur *de Cicoigne*, the royal Governor of the city of Dieppe, could move these servants of Calvin. The matter was apparently in a desperate condition, because only this one ship was that year being fitted out for New France, and the two Calvinists would not permit themselves to be moved in any respect. This difficulty of ours deeply pained Madame de Guercheville, a woman of extreme piety and great spirit; but her ingenuity speedily devised a method by which she might place us on the ship, not as passengers, but as partners, to the exclusion of the churlish Heretics. She therefore collected in a few days, from the leading men and women of the Court, 4,000 livres, as much as was necessary for fitting out the ship; and by raising that sum deprived the two Calvinists of a share in the vessel, establishing at the same time a sufficient capital from which there might each year be paid to the director of the Canadian undertaking an allowance for our Mission. When, therefore, by the diligence of this woman, the obstacles which delayed us had been removed, although nearly three months had been spent in equipping the ship, still, in the eleventh year of this century, on the 24th day of January, we set sail under the leadership of God, from the shore at Dieppe; and, after a voyage lasting in all four months, arrived at Campseau harbor, on the Southern coast of New France; at a distance thence of 120 leagues, either by sea or land, we joyfully entered Port [572] Royal. The exercises of the members of the Society in piety, humility, and kindness toward all manner of men, were especially observed by our brethren during that sea-voyage, because an expedition of great importance was being undertaken, and also for

terrestri via Portum [572] Regium lætantes iniuiimus. Quæ sollemnia sunt Societatis hominibus in eo nautico cursu pietatis, demissionis, humanitatis erga omne hominum genus, hæc, tantò minùs ab nostris omissa sunt, quòd ingentis momenti expeditio instituebatur, & præter Caluinianos nonnullos, iis præfectis vel fociis rei nauticæ vtebamur, quos, nostræ confuetudinis ratione, omnino oportebat de Societatis Instituto rectius, quàm imbuti accefferant, imbui. Appellentibus nobis ad illius orbis littora nauigium, factus est obuiam Champlænius, cum cætera virtute, tum septenni iam illius maris nauigatione clarus, quem summo nostro stupore spectauimus aduersum glaciatas aquæ moles, ingentibus terræ collibus magnitudine pares, maximis animis, ac singulari industria & arte decertantem, interque illa pericula fortiter enauigantem. De Sancto-Laurentio, amne Canadiensium maximo, scribit idem Camplænius in nauigationum commentariis, eius summas aquas tribus totis in imum vlnis conglaciari Ianuario, & insequentibus mensibus duobus ab ostio fursum versùs, centum leuicarum itinere, nec vltrâ procedere rigorem aquæ, cum tamen nulla pars fluminis, directo alueo ab occasu in ortum manantis, sit Aquilonibus altera propior, aut montibus ad apricationem tectior. Addit etiam, ineunte Aprili, soluta glaciei tanta vi, Sancti-Laurenti laxissimum ostium congelatis molibus pæne obstrui, quas ait in altum mare longius prouectas, doudenis diebus, quotannis ferè liquari.

the reason that, besides a few Calvinists, we were associated with officers and seamen to whom it was absolutely necessary that we should, on account of our frequent intercourse, give more correct ideas concerning the Institutum⁶⁹ of the Society than they had formerly received. When we brought the ship to the coast of this region, Champlain⁷⁰ met us,— a man renowned not only for his valor in other respects, but also for his voyages in this sea for seven years past; whom, to our utter amazement, we have seen battling against masses of ice, equal in size to great hills upon land, with the greatest courage, and with remarkable activity and skill, sailing forth bravely amid all these dangers. Concerning the St. Lawrence, the greatest river of Canada, this same Champlain writes, in his commentaries upon his voyages, that its surface is frozen to the depth of three entire yards, during January and the two following months, to the distance of a hundred leagues upward from its mouth; and that the freezing of the water does not extend farther, although no part of the river, since it flows directly from west to east, is more Northerly than another, or more protected by mountains, so as to be warmer. He adds also that in the beginning of April, by the melting of so great a mass of ice, the broad mouth of the St. Lawrence is almost blocked with frozen masses, which, he says, are carried forth a long distance into the sea, and usually melt within twelve days, each year.

THE arrival of our brethren at French Bay [573] and Port Royal occurred on the 26th day of June, and also,— certainly a most auspicious omen,— the sacred feast of Pentecost. Nothing more opportune could have happened to Potrincourt than the arrival of supplies, if only these had been abundant, since his priva-

APPVLSVS nostrorum ad Francicum Sinum, [573] Portumque Regium, in ante diem septimum calendas Quintiles, eumdemque Pentecostes facrum felicissimo planè omine incidit. Nihil Potrincourtio accidere poterat allato commeatu opportunius, si tamen is amplius effet, vt quem rei angustiæ coegerant, Barbaris partem familiæ alendam diuidere. Vt ne autem instructiores à commeatu veniremus, fecerat tum nauigij, sexaginta dumtaxat doliorum, breuitas; tum plus instrumenti piscatorij, quām cibariorum in naueum immissum; tum deniq; ab tricensi fenis capitibus, quot vehebamur, grauior in nauticam penum illata solido quadrimestri labes. Quamobrem Potrincourtio sexaginta hominum contubernio, tenuissima re domestica, iam eum pæne ipsis initiis opprimente, maturè prouidendum fuit, ne Portus Regij penuaria cella in sequentem hiemem exhausta relinqueretur. Cuius procriptionis, vt familiæ patrem decuit, sumto sibi onere, ipse in Galliam traiecturus, de Porturegiensi multitudine pæne quadragesimus medio Iulio soluit, exeunteque Augusto Galliæ littori appulsus est, relicto Biencourtio filio, cum reliqua cohorte, qui Porturegiensi arci præsideret.

NOSTRIS interea, quod suarum partium effet, enixè fatagentibus, cordi erat in primis popularis linguae cognitio, quam Galli leuiter modò delibatam, si vnum exciperes, tradere præceptis, vsuive docere non poterant; vt vna dumtaxat reliqua effet ratio eius ab stupidis indigenis, non institutione, sed assidua confue-

tions had compelled him to place a portion of the colony to be supported among the Savages. Moreover, the fact that we had not come well-furnished with provisions was due, not only to the smallness of the ship, which was of only sixty tons burden, but also to the placing of more fishing tackle than provisions in the cargo; then, finally, by thirty-six persons, the number which was on board, there was a great consumption of the ship's stores during four entire months. Wherefore, Potrincourt, almost overwhelmed, at the outset, by the necessity of maintaining sixty men in this scarcity of provisions, was forced to take early precautions lest the meagerly furnished storehouse at Port Royal should be left bare for the coming winter. As behooved the father of the colony, he took upon himself the burden of managing this business, and resolved that he himself would cross over to France. With about forty of the people at Port Royal, leaving his son Biencourt in command of the fort there, and the rest of the company, he set sail in the middle of July; and, in the latter part of August, he reached the French coast.

MEANWHILE, the greatest desire of our brethren, zealously occupied with the performance of their duties, was at the start to know the language of the natives, which the Frenchmen — caring but little for it, with one exception — could not impart by rules, or teach with advantage; so only one method remained, to learn it from the stupid natives, not by lessons, but by constant practice. Consequently, after our associates had made various attempts to conciliate the Savages, by gifts, by friendliness, and by [574] every sort of service, they accomplished little or nothing. For, besides the fact that they employed teachers not at all fitted for instruction, from whom nothing could

tudine tandem exprimendæ. His itaque, muneribus, comitate, atque [574] omni officij genere conciliandis cùm nostri nihil non tentassent, parum aut nihil permouerunt. Enimuerò, præterquam quod minimè idoneis ad disciplinam magistris vtebantur, à quibus nihil expromeres, nisi affluēter antè faginato aquaculo, & quos moræ, vel non diurnæ, impatientissimos idemtidem abs te abalienaret, auelleretque studiosa cuiusque rei percontatio: ipsa quoque linguæ conditio, idoneorum, ad res etiam vulgatissimas, vocabulorum indigentissimæ, nostrorum incensa studia destituit, & animos gauiter affixit. Rerum scilicet, quæ sub aspectum, tactum, & reliquos sensus cadunt, ex Barbarorum responsis nomenclatio vtcumque deprehendebatur: sed earum quæ sensuum vim fugiunt, summa est apud eam gentem appellationum penuria, & alta quoque rerum ignoratio. Posterioris autem generis desperata disciplina, cum neque priorem Barbari aut possent, aut vellent tradere; vna reliqua spes erat in adolescentे Gallo, vernaculæ linguæ bene perito, eximia humanitate, & comitate, quem etiam Pater Biardus non vulgari beneficio sibi demeuerat. Is erat Pontgrauæus, Pongrauæi filius, egregij viri superioribus annis cum Champlænio vices Domini de Monts in Francia Noua gerentis; quem adolescentem, decem & octo leucis Regio portu non longius, hiemare parantem, ad amnem Sancti Ioannis, summa ipsius voluntate, nullius incommodo, nostri eius institutione Canadicum idioma erudiēdi adire cuperent. Verumtamen Biencourtius eius pro-

be obtained unless their stomachs were first liberally crammed, and who, being very impatient of even a short delay, would often be distracted and drawn away from one by earnest inquiry about any subject: the very nature of the language, also, so deficient in words suitable for the expression of even the most common ideas, evaded the eager pursuit of our men, and greatly disheartened them. Of those things, indeed, which fall under sight, touch, and the other senses, the names were obtained from the answers of the Savages in one way or another; but for those things which elude the senses, there is the greatest scarcity of names among that race, and also a profound ignorance of the things themselves. The knowledge of the latter class was despained of, since the Savages either could not, or would not explain the former; one hope remained, in a young Frenchman, fluent in the native tongue, of remarkable kindness and affability, whom Father Biard also had laid under obligations to himself by no ordinary favors. This was Pontgravé, the son of Pontgravé,⁷¹ an excellent man, who in former years, together with Champlain, represented Sieur de Monts in New France; and this youth, who was preparing to pass the winter no farther than eighteen leagues from Port Royal, at the river St. John, our brethren were anxious to meet, with his own ready consent, and with inconvenience to no one, for the sake of the aid of his instruction in acquiring the Canadian language. Although Biencourt was consulted about this expedition, and also requested by our comrades that they might be allowed by his kind permission [575] to make progress through Pontgravé in the foreign idiom, by their ignorance of which, they were losing all the fruits of their voyage to New France,⁷² they did not

fectionis consultus, ac rogatus etiam à nostris, vt, eius bona venia, [575] proficere per Pontgrauæum in peregrino idiomate sibi liceret, cuius ignoratione, suæ nauigationis in Nouam Franciam fructu penitus exciderent: quòd ea communicatio cum Pontgrauæo nouarum rerum supicionem moueret Biencourtio, nihil impetrarunt. Tantis per ergo nostris has difficultates æquo animo tolerantibus, dum qua se aperiret via suo instituto conuenientior, Deus materiam non procul quæsitam subiecit, de grauiter ægroto Henrico Membertouio, Sagamo, bene merendi; & corporis, & animi eius diligenter curanda salute. SAGAMO apud eam gentem cuiusque populi præfes appellatur: Sagamon verò agebat inter Souriquios, in Acadia, Membertouius, ad Aquilonare latus Porturegiensis castelli, ad Sancti Ioannis flumen. Cùm tamen dysenteria cœpit tentari, degebat in *Baïa Mariana*, vt vocant, hoc est, in Mariano Sinu, Portum Regium inter, Meridianumque littus, vnde asportari se iufferat in arcem, vt medicorum nostrorum curatione vteretur. Angusta sua cellula eum nostri exceperunt, diebusque non paucis, absente ipsius coniuge, ac filia, diu noctuque, in grauissimo fordidi morbi fœtore, pro affluiissimis, & maximè sollicitis ministris ei libentissimè operam suam nauauere. Is vbi Confessione fuerat expiatus, Sacróque inunctus oleo, de sepultura sua egit cum Biencourtio, seque humari velle ait in maiorum suo sepulcro. Biencourtius, qui tanti rem esse non putaret, facile assentiebatur ; auditisque Patris

succeed; because such intercourse with Pontgravé inspired suspicion in Biencourt. While our brethren therefore patiently endured their troubles, until some path more suitable to their plans should be revealed, God placed within their reach the desired opportunity, for doing a kindness to Henry Membertou, a Sagamore who was dangerously ill, by caring diligently for the salvation of both his soul and his body. Among this people the chief of each tribe is called a SAGAMORE, and Membertou was Sagamore among the Souriquois, in Acadia, to the St. John river, North of the fort at Port Royal. However, when he began to be afflicted with dysentery, he was residing at *Bay Ste. Marie*, as they call it, between Port Royal and the Southern coast, whence he had ordered himself to be brought into the fort, in order that he might profit by the care of our physicians. Our fathers received him into their narrow cabin, and, for many days, in the absence of his wife and daughter, by day and night, amid the noxious filth of a vile disease, freely bestowed upon him their services, as most assiduous and exceedingly solicitous attendants. When he had been absolved upon Confession, and anointed with the Holy oil, he arranged with Biencourt about his burial, and said that he wished to be interred in his own ancestral burial place. Biencourt, who did not think the matter of much importance, readily consented, and, upon hearing the objections of Father Biard to his decision, believed that trouble might be prevented if [576] that grave would be blessed according to the Christian rite. This opinion of Biencourt rendered Membertou so much the more steadfast in his resolution; Father Biard declared that he would not agree with them in this, and explained why he would not consent. There

Biardi contra suam sententiam rationibus, occurri posse incommodis censebat, si [576] sepulcrum illud ritu Christiano lustraretur; quæ Biencourtij opinio Membertouium tantò constantiorem in suo decreto cùm faceret, Pater Biardus neque id se illis affensurum confirmauit, & cur non assentiretur ostendit. Non dubium erat, quin si Sagamus in consilio perstaret, eiusque ad stipulator fieri pergeret Biencourtius, offensionis atque turbarum inde quidpiam oriaretur: sed huic malo Diuina occurrit prouidentia; postridie siquidem Membertouius sua sponte postulauit commune Christianorum cœmeterium, qua & in sententia mortem obiit; vti scilicet hoc suo facto fidem suam omnibus Christianis ac Barbaris testatam relinqueret, suffragiorumque Ecclesiæ fieret particeps. Magnus omnino vir fuit hic Sagamus, non suorum magis, quam nostrorum iudicio, cuius eximiam indolem supra vulgare Canadiorum ingenium longè ideo extulisse visus est Deus optimus, vt hunc sibi iustas eius gentis primitias legeret. Ex octogenis ferè Nouo-Francis, quos ab ineunte Iunio anni sexcentesimi decimi, nulla planè imbutos catechesi, temere Baptismo impertierat loßæus nescio quis, fui muneris parum intelligens sacerdos, vnuſ dumtaxat Membertouius, pro eo quantum fuos omnes populares sagacitate & prudentia longo interuallo anteibat, follerter dispexerat, quanti esset, Christianum non censer quidem, sed reipsa idoneis eo nomine prædictum moribus vivere. Et certè reliquis omnibus de illo octogenario

was no doubt that, if the Sagamore persisted in his purpose, and Biencourt continued to support him, some offense and disturbance would arise therefrom; but Divine providence prevented this evil. The day thereafter, Membertou of his own accord requested the usual Christian burial, in which resolution he died, evidently purposing by this act to leave his faith attested to all Christians and Savages, and to become a participant in the privileges of the Church. This Sagamore was in every respect a great man, not only in the opinion of his own people but in ours; and the good God seems to have raised this man's excellent nature high above the ordinary character of the Canadians, in order that he might gather him to himself as the first fruits in righteousness of his race. Out of some 80 natives of New France whom since the beginning of June of the year 1610 a certain Josse,⁷³ a priest unfamiliar with his duties, had heedlessly baptized, although they certainly had had no religious instruction, Membertou alone, who greatly excelled all his countrymen in acuteness and good sense, had wisely discerned how important it is not merely to be considered a Christian, but actually to live with a character agreeing to the name. And indeed, although the entire remainder of that 80 had continued their brutal mode of life ever since Baptism, this man alone deserved to be called a Christian, and indeed led a praiseworthy life in [577] the midst of dense ignorance, before our brethren had come thither. As he, first of all the inhabitants of New France, was sprinkled with the saving waters, it seems, beyond doubt, that he so imbibed their most potent virtue, that nothing remained for him but to secure those teachers, by whose instructions he would be trained in Christian principles until he should

belluinum à Baptismo viuendi morem perpetuò retinentibus, hic solus ut Christiano dignum erat, in [577] multa etiam ignorantia, priusquam eò nostri aduenissent, vitam cum laude traduxit. Primus omnium de Nouo-Francis salutaribus aspersus aquis, earum vim potentissimam ita scilicet visus est combibisse, ut ei nihil longius esset quā vt eos nāciceretur magistros, quorum disciplina Christianis institutis eò usque instrueretur, dum idoneus fieret, qui suos inter populares Apostolicum ageret doctorem. Ardentis huius desiderij locupletes testes nostri, has voces eius ex ore sæpenumerò exceperunt: Per Deum immortalem, date operam Patres, nostrum ut idioma breui perdiscatis, vti vobis doctoribus usus, sicuti vos estis, ego quoque concionator, & docendi magister euadā, nostráque coniuncta opera Nouo-Francorū gens uniuersa ad Christum traducatur. Hunc virum, vix quindecim mensibus, ex quo in Christianorum numerum venerat, superstitem, paucis diebus nostra institutione informatum, multæ tamen verè Christiani ac pij animi virtutes illustrem fecerant; quam scilicet tam vberem frugem singulares probæ indolis dotes in eo nuper, patriis etiam moribus viuente, præfagierant. Omnium prouincialium testimonio, quotquot multis antè fæculis floruerant, Sagamos hic unus animi robore, muneris militaris scientia, clientelarum multitudine, frequentiâque, potentia, & gloriose nominis claritudine inter suos, atque ipfos hostes facile superauit. Quem celebritatis splendorem perpetuum non potuit,

become fit to introduce among his countrymen an Apostolic teacher. Our brethren are competent witnesses of this burning desire; they often heard from his lips these words: "By the immortal God, Fathers, endeavor to quickly learn our language, in order that, after having employed you as teachers, I also, like you, may go forth as a public exhorter and instructor; and by our united labors the entire population of New France may be brought to Christ." This man, who survived hardly fifteen months after becoming a Christian, and was accorded but a few days of our training, was nevertheless rendered illustrious by many virtues truly Christian and belonging to a pious spirit; and, indeed, unique marks of an upright character had presaged in him this fruit which was so rich, a short time previously, while he was still living according to his ancestral customs. By the testimony of all the inhabitants of the province, this one man, in strength of mind, in knowledge of the military art, in the great number of his followers, in power, and in the renown of a glorious name among his countrymen, and even his enemies, easily surpassed the Sagamores who had flourished during many preceding ages. This universal honor and renown he could not have attained, even among Savages utterly untaught, except from an established reputation, the knowledge also of the exceptional justice of his [578] character, and his temperance. Indeed, concerning this last virtue, although nothing additional can be cited, there was certainly a distinguished example of a man of great self-restraint in the continual monogamy of Membertou, in which rank, thus far, New France has recognized him alone as a phoenix indeed. For, though all the rest of the natives, but especially the Sagamores, covet above

etiam inter Barbaros, nulla vlliis rei doctrina imbuitos, consequi, nisi ex certa fama, adeoque etiam notitia eximiæ in eo vigentis [578] æquitatis, atque temperantiæ. De temperantia quidem eius, vt prætereà nihil afferri possit, luculentum sanè fuit, sibi magnoperè moderantis hominis, documentum, perpetua in Membertouio monogamia, quo in genere solitarium verè phœnicem Nouo-Francia eum adhuc agnouit. Quod enim reliqui omnes indigenæ, sed Sagami præfertim, ex vxorum multitudine stirpis numerosam feriem expectunt summoperè, atque sperant, suæ vtique potentia singulare columen ac firmamentum; id vti more gentis usurparet, adduci numquam potuit Member-touius, quòd altiore quadam, supra vulgus Sagamorum, sapientia perspiceret, grauiora inter discordes vxores, & earum liberos simultatum, sub eodem tecto, detrimenta existere, quām emolumenta opum, & neutriquam consentientis potentia. Sollemne est illi genti, ex superstitioso ritu, quod genus omnes habent præcipuum, demortuorum neminem suo vnquam nomine appellare, sed aduentitium cuiuis, ex re nata, indere, quo cum perpetuo inter commemorandum denotent: quo ex more Henricum Membertouium ab virtutibus bellicis nuper clarissimum, congruenti eius laudibus nomenclatione, Magnum Imperatorem, suo idiomate, nuncuparunt.

POTRINCOVRTIVS Biencourtij pater, in Galliam mense Iulio nauigarat, commeatus summittendi gratia, cuius erant magnæ angustiæ in Porturegiensi

all else from a multitude of wives a numerous train of progeny, and desire them as the especial support and foundation of their power; Membertou could never be induced to conform to this custom of the race, because, with a certain wisdom deeper than that of the mass of Sagamores, he perceived that the evils arising among the quarreling wives and among the children of these rivals, beneath the same roof, more than balanced the increase of resources and of power that might arise from a large family. It is an observance of that race, from a superstitious rite which all especially revere, to never mention by name any deceased person; but to give each, according to circumstances, an additional appellation, by which they always designate him whenever they mention him. In conformity with this custom, they called Henry Membertou, because he had of late been highly renowned in warlike virtues, by a name agreeing with his reputation, meaning, in their language, Great Chief.

POTRINCOURT, the father of Biencourt, had sailed for France in the month of July for the sake of procuring supplies, of which there was a great scarcity in the colony at Port Royal; but up to the following month of October no provisions had been sent from France; therefore, Biencourt decided to make a trip, in company with Father Biard, to the Almochiquois, who lived near the Choüacoet river, [579] and had plenty of Indian corn, in order by the exchange of French goods to obtain some food for the winter. But because he turned aside from the journey across French Bay, to the St. John river, in order that he might exact from the young Pontgravé and the rest of the Maclouins a tax upon their Canadian traffic, and being longer delayed by disputes which arose with that colony, he waited almost beyond the time for obtain-

familia, Octobri mense insequente; cibariorum tamen nihil è Gallia missum erat; idcirco Biencourtius ad Almochiquios, Choüacoetij fluminis [579] accolas, Indici milij copiis abundantes, nauigationem, comite Patre Biardo, instituit, Gallicarum mercium permutatione ad hibernam aliquam annonam frumentaturus. Sed quòd ex itinere ad Sancti Ioannis flumen, trans Francicum Sinum diuerterat, vt ex adolefcente Pontgrauæo, reliquisque Maclouiensibus quintas exigeret Canadicæ negotiationis, diutiùs eum morantibus subortis cum ea familia discordiis, tempore frumentationis pæne exclusus est, ad quam deinde cùm est reuersus, Barbarorum delufus fraude, qui spem frumentariæ permutationis fecerant, vacuus in Portum Regium renaugauit. In ea excursione feliciter obtigit Patri Biardo, vt Pontgrauæo conciliaret Biencourtium, sicuti nuper Potrincourtium eidem infensum placauerat, & vt Merueillæo item Maclouensi, de salute, ob nescio quas suspiciones, periclitanti grauiter, eadem pacificationis opera, vitam affereret; quo suo factō vtrumque fibi magnopere deuinxit. Nostro Sacerdoti demeritos esse beneficiis homines huiusmodi, cum ob cætera multa, tum ob id in primis opportunè accidebat, quòd eorum opera fideli, ac vtili esset usu in disciplina Canadicæ linguae, quam Pontgrauæus callebat egregiè, si dies aliquot vnà viuere, aut certè frequentiùs congredi liceret. Id certè, vt Pater Biardus nō expeteret, quod expetebat, ipsi vltrò ambiebant, delato ei perhumaniter suo contubernio; quibus

ing corn; and, when he finally returned to that business, deceived by the pretensions of the Indians, who had held out the hope of buying food, he sailed back empty-handed to Port Royal. During this trip Father Biard fortunately succeeded in reconciling Biencourt to Pontgravé, just as he had lately conciliated Potrincourt, who had been enraged at the same man; and also, by the same office of pacification, in preserving the life of Merveille, the Malouin, who was in great jeopardy on account of certain suspicions; by which actions he acquired the greatest influence over them both. It was advantageous to our Priest to have men of this character indebted for favors to him, not only for many other reasons, but especially, because he designed to make use of their faithful and effective services in learning the Canadian language, in which Pontgravé was unusually skilled, if they should be allowed to reside together for a few days, or to meet even more frequently. They, of their own accord, took care that Father Biard might not request what he desired, by very politely offering him the privileges of their home; the Father was grateful to them, and for the present returned thanks, requesting them, however, to postpone their kindness to him until that time when it would be proper for him to accept it; for it was not then fitting for him [580] to desert Biencourt, especially when he was engaged in a dangerous journey. Afterwards, while Biencourt was returning from that unsuccessful trip to the Quinibequi for provisions, which we have just described, when they had arrived at the Pentegoët river and the island of Ste. Croix, Father Biard endeavored to persuade him, and even begged him, to send him to Pontgravé from that place, which was near at hand, for the purpose of composing a Canadian cate-

in præsentia Pater egit gratias, habuitque, rogatis tamen, vt sibi hanc benignitatem, in id tempus referuarent, quo bene vti fas esset; tunc enim haud [580] decere Biencourtum, in periculoſa præfertim nauigatione, ab fe deferi. Biencourtio deinde redeunti ex irrita illa Quinibequensi frumentatione, quam modò indicauimus, cùm ad Pentegoetium amnem, & Sanctæ Crucis insulam ventum esset, fuadere conatus est, immo supplex fuit Pater Biardus, vt fe inde, loco ex propinquo, ad Pontgrauæum dimitteret, Canadici catechismi contexendi cauſa, quod inter eos antè conuenerat. Huic postulationi, licet æquissimæ, is cuius nihil planè intererat, non nisi eis conditionibus affensus est, quæ & iniquissimæ, & nequaquam in potestate Patris effent. Quamobrem facultate deiectus idiomatici vernaculi condiscendi, ad otiosam pæne vitam in arce degendam adactus est, ingenti sua molestia. Nouembri exeunte, iam ferme exausto penu, nulli nuncij afferebantur è Gallia; & quod reliquum esse poterat ab venatione subsidium, niuibus obſitū folium intercipiebat; vt ex parsimonia petendum esset vectigal, quò plures in dies annona sufficeret. Demensum igitur cuiuſlibet è familia, in quamque hebdomadam, ad denas panis vncias, lardi felibram, pisi aut fabæ ternas scutellas, & prunorum vnam denique redierat. Atque tametsi familia vniuersa eo commenatu, quem nostrum è Gallia importaueramus, vitam tolerabat, nihil nobis liberaliùs, quām cuiuis de calonibus eo tempore indultum est, neque vt indulgere-

chism, which had previously been agreed upon between them. To this request, although most just, and although it certainly made no difference to him, Biencourt would not consent, except under conditions which were both exceedingly unjust and by no means in the power of the Father. Therefore he was disappointed of the opportunity of learning the language of the natives, and was compelled to lead an almost inactive existence in the fort, to his great vexation. By the end of November, although the provisions were already almost exhausted, no tidings were received from France; and what aid they might have obtained by hunting was cut off by the deep snow that covered the ground; so it was necessary to exercise the greatest economy, in order that the provisions might last longer. The weekly allowance, therefore, of every one in the colony had finally been fixed at ten ounces of bread, half a pound of lard, three dishes of peas or beans, and one of prunes. And, although the whole colony was living upon the provisions which we had brought from France for our own use, we were treated with no more indulgence at that time than any one of the servants, nor did we wish for special privileges; although a certain rascal, in a writing published in France,⁷⁴ has not hesitated to circulate many statements to the contrary, in the most shameless and calumnious manner. Until the 24th of January, in the year [581] 1612, the scarcity of provisions lasted, upon which day a ship entered Port Royal with a small quantity of supplies, bought and sent over by Madame de Guercheville. This pious lady had paid to brother Robert du Thet, 1,000 golden crowns, contributed according to the agreement between Robin⁷⁵ and the Canadian Fathers, for the purpose of purchasing and conveying

tur, optauimus, quamquam nebulo quidam, scripto in Gallia edito, non est veritus multa fecus per summam impudentiam & calumniam disseminare. Ad nonum calendas Februarias, anni [581] sexcentesimi duodecimi, tenuerunt cibariorum angustiæ, quem ad diem in Portum Regium inuecta est nauis cum mediocri admodum annona, Dominæ Guercheuillææ sumtibus emta, & transmissa. Mille aureos nummos, ex pacto societatis cum Robinio & Patribus Canadiensibus initæ, contributos hæc pia matrona numerauerat Roberto du Thet, fratri nostro coemendis transmittendis que Porturegiensi contubernio cibariis ; sed eorum quadringentis fratrem nostrum, non fatis cautum depositi custodem, Potrincourtius oblata suæ syngraphæ cautione, confessim emunxit; sive res tota rediit ad sexcentos, vnde annona nobis exigua conflaretur. Sed neque tot aureorum cibaria in nauem illata sunt, nam Potrincourtij naualis administer partem coemti frumenti auertit in Gallia, & eorum quæ adiecta erant, Porturegiensi Societati quantum collibuit, nec amplius, reddidit. Noster Gilbertus du Thet, cuius in oculis horum pleraque commissa erant, posteà quam vidit, ab eo qui annonæ transfuehendæ præfuerat, nullas acceptorum rationes referri, assunto Patre Biardo, apud Biencourtium egit modestè, vti ab eo, qui mandato parentis eius, pro magistro in nauis gesferat, acceptorum ratio reposceretur: interesse siquidem nauticorum omnium sociorum, vt constaret, quantū à singulis expensum acceptūque esset. Biencourt

provisions to the colony at Port Royal; but Potrincourt, by means of his promissory note, straightway cheated our brother out of 400, as he was not a sufficiently careful guardian of his trust, and so the whole sum was reduced to 600, by means of which a scanty store was provided for us. But not even provisions to the value of that number of crowns were placed in the vessel, for Potrincourt's naval agent⁷⁶ embezzled in France part of the grain purchased; and, of the supplies carried over, he delivered to the Society at Port Royal as much as he pleased, and no more. Our brother Gilbert du Thet, before whose eyes most of these acts had been committed, when he saw that no account was rendered, by the person in charge of the transportation of the supplies, of what had been received by him, in company with Father Biard modestly requested Biencourt that a reckoning concerning his trust be demanded from the man who, by order of his father, had acted as captain of the vessel; saying that it was to the interest of all the ship's company that it should be made manifest how much had been received and expended by each individual. Biencourt indeed admitted at that time, and often thereafter, that nothing more modest or more just could be asked by any person; but, nevertheless, just as if Simon Imbert, whose account in [582] the matter was desired, had been cruelly accused by our brother, he so represented to the former the request of the latter, that he made him our bitter enemy. Therefore Imbert, in order to make Biencourt his friend and alienate him from us, and to release himself from the necessity of rendering an account, placing an evil interpretation upon the plan of Madame de Guercheville, who had taken occasion to make an agreement between the society and Robin, in order that he

courtius quidem & tum, & deinde sœpius est profef-
fus, nihil moderatiū, nihil æquiū postulari à quo-
quam potuisse: nihilo tamen minūs, quasi à nostro
atrociter insimularetur Simon Imbertus, cuius fides in
[582] eo negotio desiderabatur; ita illius postulata ifti
de pinxit, vt eum nobis infensissimum faceret. Im-
bertus ergo vt Biencourtium sibi conciliatum à nobis
abalienaret, seque referendæ rationis necessitate abfo-
lueret, malignè interpretatus consilium Dominæ Guer-
chetuillææ, quæ pacifcendæ societatis cum Robinio
ansam captauerat, vt Miffionis nostræ rebus tantò cer-
tiūs caueret; fraudulenter cauillatus est, per causam
eius societatis intendi machinā, qua Biencourtiorum
nomē Porturegiensi arce, atque vniuersa Noua Fran-
cia detrunderetur. Ex hac calumnia illæ Biencourtij
simultates exstiterunt, quibus factum est, vt nostro-
rum opera Nouo-francis populis, quin & ipsis quoque
Gallis nihilo ferè quam ifti minūs egentibus institu-
tione, deinceps effet inutilis. Calumniatoris menda-
cia facile fuit nostris diluere, & semel, iterum, ac
tertiò tam apertè ac validè apud Biencourtium, au-
diente vniuerso contubernio, diluerunt; vt postre-
ma refutatione ad infantiam adactus Imbertus eò
deueniret, vt excusandæ noxæ gratia profiteri non
vereretur, sibi largiter temulento illas aduerfum nos
calumnias excidiffe. Biencourtium acriter pupu-
gerat nuncius, quo afferebatur, etiam confcio pa-
rente suo Potrincourtio, vniuersæ Nouæ Franciæ ius
imperiumque à maximo amne Sacquéo ad Flori-

might more securely guard the interests of our Mission, falsely charged that by means of it a conspiracy of the society was in progress, by which the authority of the Biencourts was to be destroyed in the fort at Port Royal and in the whole of New France. From this slander arose those quarrels with Biencourt by which our services were rendered useless to the tribes of New France, nay, more, to the French themselves, who needed instruction scarcely less than the natives.

It was easy for our brethren to refute the falsehoods of their defamer; and once, twice, and a third time they so plainly and completely disproved them, before Biencourt, in the hearing of the whole settlement, that Imbert was rendered speechless by the final refutation, and was so reduced that he did not hesitate to claim, for the sake of excusing his wickedness, that these slanders had been uttered by him while much intoxicated. Biencourt had been deeply vexed by the news which was brought, to the effect that, even with the knowledge of his father, Potrincourt, the possession and government of the whole of New France from its greatest river, the Sacqué to Florida, except Port Royal, had been granted by a Royal charter to *Madame de Guercheville*; and that, by documents under public authority, there had been transferred to her also by Sieur de Monts everything which he had recently possessed in this region by the grant of Henry IV. And, although he could not suppose that these things were done because of our [583] influence, still he thereafter acted towards us just as if he had so believed. The idea of *Madame de Guercheville* was, indeed, that their respect for her authority might serve as a strong restraint to hold to their duty the Biencourts, both father and son, who up to this time had kept poor faith with us and felt

dam, Portu Regio demto, *Guercheuillææ* Regio diplo-
mate esse cõcessum eidémq; à Domino de Monts quid-
quid Henrici Quarti beneficio nuper in eadem ora
posseidisset, id omne tabulis publicè consignatis esse
transcriptum. Atque, vt non putaret, hæc nobis
[583] auctoribus gesta esse, perinde tamen posteà in
nos affectus fuit quasi credidisset. *Guercheuillææ* qui-
dem mens, fuit huius principatus fui reuerentia, velut
potenti freno iniecto, Biencourtiorum vtrumque, pat-
rem & filium, fidei hactenus in nos parum sinceræ, ani-
mique minus grati, suo in officio continere; nihil au-
tem de Porturegiensi iure ipsis detrahere. Sed fui ni-
mio plus amantes homines alienam in re propria
cautionem, suam iniuriam interpretabantur: quod
tamen res iis effet angusta domi, nec viderent vnde
commodius cella Porturegiensis instrui posset, quām
à *Guercheuillææ* in gratiam nostrorum Patrum, ne
hac annona exciderent, suum dolorem taciti conco-
quebant. Nostrorum facillima fuit apud Biencour-
tium purgatio, quam cum accepisset in præsentia, re-
conciliatis animis Patres ad institutum Canadiensis
idiomatis condiscendi magnis animis reuersi sunt, par-
titis inter se prouinciis, vt Pater Maffæus ad Ludouic-
cum Membertouium, Henrici vita functi filium, eius
rei causa demigraret; Pater Biardus magistrum eius
linguæ domi Barbarum sibi adhiberet. Patri Maffæo
ad Sancti Ioannis flumen apud hospitem, cum ado-
lescente Gallo focio degenti, ex diurna inedia, &
Nomadicæ vitæ continentibus vexationibus, accidit

little gratitude toward us; but not by any means to deprive them of their right to Port Royal. But these men, too fond of their private interests, considered as an injury to themselves the solicitude of others in regard to their own affairs; but because their affairs at home were embarrassed, and they knew no more convenient source of provisions for Port Royal than Madame de Guercheville, for the sake of our Fathers, they silently smothered their vexation, in order not to lose these supplies. Our brethren very easily exonerated themselves before Biencourt, and when he had for the time being accepted their excuses, and harmony had been restored, the Fathers returned with great determination to their purpose of learning the Canadian language, dividing the business between them, so that Father Massé should go for this purpose to Louis Membertou, son of the late Henry; while Father Biard should have a Savage to teach him the language at home. While Father Massé, with a young French companion, was residing with his host at the St. John river, he fell seriously ill from long fasting and the continual annoyances of a wandering life; and, although he did not die, he was reduced to the utmost weakness. During this illness a very ridiculous discussion, worthy of a Canadian intellect, took place between Membertou and his guest, the Father. The savage approached the prostrate Father, very anxious and grieved, as his countenance actually showed, because of the Priest's unfortunate condition, [584] whom he addressed with these words: "Hear me, Father, you will surely die, as I indeed anticipate; write therefore to Biencourt, and also to your brother, that you have by no means perished at our hands, but been overcome by disease, in order that no

grauis ægrotatio, qua tantum non confectus ad vltima delaberetur, inter quem morbum Membertouio cum hospite Patre accidit ridicula planè, ac Canadico ingenio digna sermocinatio. Ad decumbentem scilicet Patrem is adiit, vt quidem eius vultus præferebat, Patris acerbo casu [584] valde sollicitus ac mœrens, quem in hæc verba compellauit. Audi me, Pater, moreris omnino, vt ego quidem auguror: scribe igitur ad Biencourtium, itemque ad tuum fratrem, te à nobis nequaquam trucidatum occubuisse, sed morbo consumtum, ne qua in nobis tui obitus noxa resideat. Cui contrà retulit Pater Massæus: Non committam, vd quod mones, imprudenter ad meos scribam: ne tu ex mea imprudentia factus audacior, securiorque violentas manus afferas, nihil tamen minus innocentiae testes meas litteras apud te habeas, quæ te noxa exigunt. Inexspectato, & arguto responso perculsus Barbarus, quasi ex alto sopore mox ad se rediit, atque renidenti ore, ait: Iesum igitur tuis precibus tibi propitium facito, vt te periculo mortis eruat, ne quis in nos tui occasus culpam conferat. Illud ipsum euro, inquit, Pater, desine esse sollicitus, nec enim me hic morbus exhaustiet. In Porturegiensi quiete Pater Biardus interea doctore Barbaro vtebatur ad condicendam barbariem, quæ se idoneum Euangeli præconem in rudi admodum gente præstaret: cui doctori quamdiu habuit vnde mensam insterneret, eius facili, utilique opera profecit, sed discendi docendique cursum post aliquot hebdomadas inhibuit penus inopia.

harm may come to us because of your death." Father Massé answered him in turn: "I shall not do as you advise me, and imprudently write to my friends, lest you should become bolder and more careless, because of my lack of foresight, and lay violent hands upon me, while nevertheless possessing my letter as proof of your innocence, which would save you from punishment." The Savage, astonished by this unexpected and keen reply, soon came to himself, as if from a deep sleep, and said with a smile: "Therefore make Jesus favorable to you by your prayers, in order that he may save you from the danger of death, and no one may lay the blame of your fate upon us." "I am attending to that very thing," said the Father, "cease to be anxious, for this disease will not end me." In the calm of Port Royal Father Biard, in the meantime, employed a Savage as teacher, that he might learn the barbarous tongue, which presented itself as the suitable vehicle for the Gospel among this utterly rude people. As long as he had provisions with which to furnish the table for his teacher, he made progress by the aid of his willing and efficient services, but after a few weeks the scarcity of supplies interrupted the course of learning and teaching. By these difficulties our brethren were also hindered in the case of four Savages, whom Father Biard and Biencourt, in a time of peril upon the sea, had vowed, with the concurrence of the Savages themselves, to make Christians, if they should safely escape from the threatened shipwreck. When they were delivered from this danger, and had brought the ship to Port Royal, there was nothing in the storehouse with which to feed the Savages until they should be suitably instructed in the Catechism; and, because of this poverty of our brethren, the opportunity of suc-

Cuius angustiis quoq; prohibiti sunt nostri, ne quatuor Barbaros, quos Pater Biardus & Biencourtius in maritimo discrimine, ipsis Barbaris ratum votum habētibus, futuros Christianos voverant, si ē præfenti naufragio incolumes euaderent. Erepti periculo cum ad Regium Portum appulissent nauem, non fuit in cella vnde alerentur Barbari, quoad idonea Catechesi essent imbuti, qua destitutione affectis nobis rei bene gerendæ occasio perit, nec postea rediit.

IN Nouembrem eius fæculi annus duodecimus iam proceſſerat, cùm exigua cibaria superiore Februario allata, aut abſumta penitus, aut tenuissimis arcta reliquiis Biencourtium valdè anxium habebant: sed eò maximè, quòd ex Galliis nauis nulla veniebat. Nostris, posteriore Februarij mensis commeatu, summissa fuerant priuatim quaterna puri tritici dolia, vnumque hordei, quæ in futurum sibi seposuerant; quam annonam, accisis communibus contubernij rebus, conferendam in medium rati, Biencourtio eam permiserunt, vt in quotidianos familiæ totius vſus diuideret, ipſosque in diurno demenſo cum cæteris domesticis æquaret. Eo ſubſidio ad tempus ſubleuatæ ſunt publicæ neceſſitates, ſed in tota hiberna multitudine, tametsi non numerosæ, tenuius id fuit vectigal, quām pro foli conditione, nullam frumentationis, incertam venatus, pifcatusque ſpem offerentis. Vt autem dierum tempeſtiuitas omnis adeſſet ad pifcatum, locorumque opportunitas: aberat tamen neceſſarium ad hanc operam pifcatorij lembi instrumentum.

cessfully accomplishing the undertaking passed by, and did not afterwards recur.

THE twelfth year of this century had already advanced to November, when the fact that the scanty supplies, brought the preceding February, were either entirely consumed, or reduced to extremely scanty remnants, caused Biencourt great anxiety, but especially, because no ship was coming from France. There had been sent to our brethren privately, among the preceding February's supplies, four casks of pure wheat and one of barley, which they had laid aside for their own use in the future. This grain, because of the general extremities of the colony, they judged should be added to the common stock; and gave it to Biencourt, in order that he might distribute it for the daily needs of the whole settlement, and give them an equal allowance each day with the rest of the people. By this aid the general necessities were relieved for a time; but for the winter, and among all that crowd of people, although not numerous, this was a scanty supply, considering the condition of the ground, which presented no opportunity for agriculture, and an uncertain chance for hunting and fishing. Moreover, even if the weather and the accessibility of the places had been every way favorable for fishing, there was still lacking for this pursuit the necessary aid of a fishing boat. Therefore, while the rest of the settlers were slothfully enjoying winter cheer before the blazing hearth, as if forgetful of their poverty, our brethren devoted their attention and labor to the construction of a boat. While they were engaged in this sort of work, the whole colony guessed and wondered what men so unskilled in the carpenter's art, unprovided with working tools, and unsupplied with material, were trying

Cæteris igitur contubernalibus hiberna folatia ex luculento foco segniter capeffentibus, quasi oblitis suam penuriam, nostri appellunt studium, operamque ab^a lintrem fabricandam. Eis ad eiusmodi opus accinctis, suspicere, demirari vniuersum contubernium, quid moliantur homines à fabrili arte, ab armis fabrilibus, à materia tam imparati: apud focum [586] de tam nouo instituto multa verba facere, subitarios Argonautas dicteriis figere: sed nostri ab opere neutiquam discedere, rem vrgere. Medio Martio, stupentibus suis irriforibus, nostri lintrem in aquam deducunt, fluminum ac maris ipsius patientem, nec verentur adolescente famulo atque alio contubernalium comitibus, aduerso flumine, Sinum Francicum influente, in filias ad glandem Chiquebiamque radicem legendam contendere. *Chiquebi* radix est illius oræ præcipua, nostris tuberibus haud absimilis, sed vescentibus iucundior ac vtilior, cuius multiplices bulbi, tenui filo catenati, sub summa terra nascuntur. Sed omnia eius radicis cubilia iam à peritis locorum Barbaris delibata nostri leguli deprehendebant, vt multa indagine, quilibet eorum eius cibi vnum diarium vix fibi quæreret. Ab hac glandaria, bulbariaque messe, quandoquidem eius leue fuit momētum, *ad Eplani* pifcatum studia conuertentes, altius versūm amnis caput nauigium promouent. *Eplanus*, seu *Eplanus*, est pifciculus Trichiæ Rothomagensis magnitudine, hoc est eius, quem *Sardinam* vulgus appellat, qui mari egrefsus ineunte Aprili, magnis agminibus dulcis aquæ

^a *Rectius*
“ad.”

to do; they talked a great deal before the hearth [586] concerning this novel venture, and flung taunts at these rash Argonauts; but our brethren never left their work, and hurried on the undertaking. In the middle of March, to the amazement of their scoffers, our friends launched their boat, which endured the violence of the rivers and even of the sea; nor did they fear, in company with their young servant and another of the household, to ascend the river flowing into French Bay, to gather acorns and the Chiquebi root⁷⁷ in the forest. The *Chiquebi* root is peculiar to this coast, and is not unlike our potatoes, but more pleasant and useful for eating; its numerous bulbs, joined by a slender thread, grow deep in the earth. However, our collectors found that all the spots where this root grew had been already visited by the Savages, who were acquainted with the places; so that after long search each one of them could scarcely find a quantity of this food sufficient for one day. From this harvest of acorns and roots, since it was of small importance, they turned their attention to fishing for the *Eplanus*,⁷⁸ and advanced their boat farther toward the head of the river. The *Eplan* or *Epelan* is a little fish of the size of the *Trichia Rothomagensis*, that is, of the fish which is commonly called the *Sardine*; and, in the beginning of April, it leaves the ocean, and in great shoals enters the fresh-water streams, where it lays the eggs for its abundant young, these streams being very numerous four leagues from the post at Port Royal. Fishing for the *Eplanus* was succeeded by that for the *Halecis*, and for other sorts of river and sea-fishes, just as opportunity and suitable place offered for capturing each, up to the month of May; but, contrary to what they most of all wished, our

riuos subit, vbi fundendis ouis feturæ operam det, cuius ingens est copia, quattuor leucis à Porturegiensi statione, frequentibus riuoru alueis. Eplanici pisca-tus laborem exceptit Halecis, ac cæterorum seu fluui-tilis seu marini generis piscium præda, prout cuius-que captandi se dabat & tempestas, & locus idoneus, ad Maïum usque mensem; sed contrà quām maximè omnium vellent, nostri pisca-tores, [587] Euangelij vel hamo, vel reti capiebant homines, in longè amplissimo Canadiorum Oceano, non nisi paucissimos.

INTEREA tēporis in Gallia Reginæ auctoritas inter-ponebatur, vt primo quoque tēpore Porturegiēsi fer-uitute liberaremur, nobis vti liceret, in quolibet Nouæ Franciæ tractu, aut patrium idioma perdiscere, aut quod iam didicissimus nostro iure, nullius ex-spectata venia, inter Barbaros exercere. In eam rem igitur Regio diplomate instructi Sociorum duo, Pater Quintinus, & qui antè in Galliam renauigarat è Portu Regio, Gilbertus du Thet Nouo-Frācicum littus, an-no sexcentesimo decimo tertio, medio Maō incolumes lætique tenuerunt. Diplomate cauebatur, vti liceret nobis nouū domiciliū commodo loco ædificare, ac idoneam familiam domicilio tuendo habere, ad cuius instructum annua tricenūm capitum cibaria, equi prætereà, capræ, ac cætera id genus largiter summissa erant. Ad vim quoque propulsandam instrumenti bellici, & commeatus nonnihil, militaria item quat-tuor tabernacula, quibus tegeremur, dum muri assur-gerent nouæ domus, Reginæ beneficentia accefferant.

fishermen, [587] with the hook or net of the Gospel, took only a very few men in the immense Ocean of the Canadian tribes.

MEANTIME in France the authority of the Queen was interposed, that we might at the first opportunity be relieved from our bondage at Port Royal, and that we might be allowed, in any part of New France, either to study the language of the natives, or practice among the Savages what we had already learned by our own right, and seeking the permission of no man. Therefore two of our members, provided with a Royal commission for this undertaking,—Father Quintin,⁷⁸ and he who previously had sailed from Port Royal for France, Gilbert du Thet,—safely and joyfully reached the coast of New France in the middle of May of the year 1613. It was provided in the commission that we should be allowed to establish a new settlement in a suitable place, and to have a sufficient number of colonists to protect it;⁷⁹ and for its provision there had generously been sent a year's supply of food for thirty persons, and also horses, goats, and other things of the sort. By the kindness of the Queen there were also added weapons for our defense, some supplies, and also four military tents, by which we might be sheltered while our new residence was being built. La Saussaye, with a military title and command, was to have charge of the household of colonists, not only while the buildings were in process of erection, but also when they had been completed and fortified, in order that in case of attack nothing might be neglected, but the entire colony should be in a condition of defense, and the buildings in good repair. When the supplies were landed at Port Royal, only five of us were there, out of the whole population, Biencourt

Sauffeius militari titulo imperioque domesticæ cohorti, domicilio ædificando, eidemque exstructo, ac munito præfuturus erat, vti nihil deesset ad ingruentes casus, quin fedes familiâque omnis farta teataque consisteret. His in Regium Portum appellentibus, quini tantum de toto contubernio aderamus, absente inter cæteros Biencourtio, cuius vices obeunti Hèberto cùm Reginæ litteræ lectæ fuissent, [588] quibus dimitti iubebamur, nostras nobis licuit colligere sarcinas, quibus collectis post biduū Porturegiensi statione, ad nouas fedes collocandas in Norembegensi regione soluimus. *Kadesquitum*, Norembegæ oræ portus, nautis edicebatur ex pacto, vt eò nauigium appellerent, vnde vniuersa familia exscensionem faceret, futuri domicilij locum auspiciatè captura in proximis collibus; sed cùm in propiore portu hæsisserent, cui à Sancto Saluatore nomen, ex fausto euentu, indidimus, afferebant se pactam fidem abunde exfoluisse, neque longius cursum prouecturos. Inter eam contentiō nem sermo incidit cum indigenis Barbaris, quibus suam oram mirificè præ Kadesquito collaudantibus, & ad eam sedem diligendam magnoperè hortantibus, eius explorandæ cupidus nobis incessit; qua explora ta, impenséque probata ab omnibus, totius multitudinis eò incubuit animus, vt opportuno in colle area excitando ædificio designaretur. Loco itaque inaugu rando Crux erigitur, solum exstruendis ædibus describitur, iaciendis fundamentis terra effoditur, eodem nomine, quo subiectus portus, nascens tenuibus exor-

being absent with the others. When the letter of the Queen, [588] in which were orders for our dismissal, had been read to Hèbert,⁸⁰ who represented Bien-court, we were allowed to collect our baggage; having done this, two days later we left Port Royal, with the intention of founding a new settlement in the neighborhood of Norembega. The boatmen had been notified, according to their agreement, to land at *Kadesquit*,⁸¹ a harbor on the shore of Norembega, in order that the whole colony might there disembark, and auspiciously take possession of a site for the future settlement upon the neighboring hills; but when we had stuck in a bay, this side of that,⁸² to which from the favorable outcome we gave the name of St. Sauveur, they declared that they had abundantly fulfilled their agreement, and that they would not continue the voyage any further. During this dispute, we engaged in conversation with the Savages inhabiting the spot; and since they praised their own country as being far superior to that at Kadesquit, and earnestly solicited us to choose it for our settlement, we conceived a desire to explore it. After we had examined this region, which was heartily approved by all, the whole company turned their attention to selecting a site for the building upon a suitable hill. Therefore, a Cross was erected, by way of consecrating the place; the ground was marked out for the erection of the buildings; the earth was dug up for laying the foundations; and our abode, while still in its infancy, was called by the same name as the harbor, St. Sauveur. La Saussaye, the commander of the colonists, took, from the beginning, so deep an interest in agriculture that he thought of that alone, and neglected everything else; and through his excessive zeal for husbandry, called off a large

diis domus Sanctus Saluator appellatur. Sauffeō cohortis Duci rusticæ rei tam acris cura principio inferderat, vt id vnum cogitaret, cætera negligeret omnia, exque nimio agriculturæ studio, magnam familiæ partem ab opere fabrili ad rusticum seuocaret. Mottæus Sauffeō Legatus, Ronferæus Signifer, Ioubertus ordinum Instructor, cæterique de Cohorte primores erant in ea fententia, omnibus reliquis posthabitis curis, ædificandum [589] esse domicilium, eoque conferendas vniuersæ cohortis operas, quoad aduersum hostilē vim munitionibus cinctum, tutò habitari poffet. Quamobrem ægerrimè ferebant, contubernialium plerosque ab ædificando abductos arationibus ab Sauffeō adhiberi, apud quem vehementer instabant, vt omnium manus & studia in ædificationem, vtilius in præsentia vtique negotium, conuerteret; sed furdo canebat. Ita variantibus procerum fententiis atque institutis, exoriebantur contentiones, cuiusmodi folent inter dissentiētes nafci, dum quod quisque optimum censet, id aliorum consiliis atque coëptis præuertendum putat: fiebatque vt altercationibus dies ab opera inanes traducerentur. Quam inertiam, & discordantium iudiciorum obstinationem, rei Christianæ cultique Diuino in ea ora valdè infestam, Deus visus est improuiso infortunio voluisse multare.

ANGLI paucis abhinc annis Virginiam occuparunt, quam Ioannes Vezaranus Francisci I Gallorum Regis auspiciis exploratam, quingentesimo vicesimo tertio anno sub eius iurisdictionem redegerat. Eadem ipsa est continens inter Floridam Nouamque Franciam,

portion of the colony from the work of building, and set them to farming. La Motte,⁸³ Saussaye's Lieutenant, Ronseraye, the Color-bearer, Joubert, the Drill-master, and other leading men of the Company were of the opinion that, postponing all other enterprises, the building [589] ought to be completed, and the energies of the entire company be devoted to this, until it should be protected by fortifications against hostile violence, and might safely be inhabited. Wherefore, they were greatly displeased because most of the colonists were taken away from building and employed in plowing by La Saussaye, whom they eagerly urged to apply the labors and zeal of all in building, a more profitable undertaking for the present; but it fell upon deaf ears. So, as the views and plans of the leaders were at variance, disputes arose, such as usually take place between those who differ, when each one thinks that what he deems best ought to be preferred to the projects and undertakings of others; the result was, that days were idly spent, away from work, in quarreling. This inactivity, and obstinacy in contrary opinions, so inimical to Christian interests and the Divine worship upon that shore, God seems to have willed to punish by means of an unforeseen calamity.

THE English, a few years before, had occupied Virginia, which John Verazano, in 1523, had explored under the authority of Francis I., King of France, and brought under his jurisdiction. It is the portion of the continent between Florida and New France, which, covering the thirty-sixth, thirty-seventh, and thirty-eighth parallels, was formerly called by the name of *Mocosa*,⁸⁴ situated two hundred and fifty leagues Westward from the station at St. Sauveur. From the fort [at Jamestown], which they have held

quam tricesimo sexto, septimo, & octauo gradibus substratā, *Mocosæ* nomine? veteres designarunt, dūcētenis quinquagenis leucis versūs Occasum ab Sancti Saluatoris statione diffitæ. Ex Ieutomo arce, quam egregiè munitam, & præfidiario milite instructam inibi octauo ab hinc anno habent, quotannis æstiuam nauigationem instituunt ad Peucoitiarum insularum cetarias, piscariæ [590] annonæ in futuram hiemem comparandæ. Eò cùm deueherentur huius anni æstate, inciderunt in eas cæli caligines, quæ huic mari densissimæ solent per eos menses incubare, in quibus dum incerti locorum diutius hærent, frequentibus eos trahentibus æstuariis, paullatim nostrū in littus delati sunt, haud procul portu Sancti Saluatoris. Inde Barbarorum imprudentia lapforum indicio, qui eos pro fœderatis Gallis sumerent, didicerunt Gallicam nauem in proximo portu versari, atque illam quidem neque grandem, neque à numerosis epibatis, neqj ab æneis tormentis validè instructam. Eo nuncio nihil opportuniùs accidere poterat hominibus seminudis, & cibariorum copia exhaustis, quos præter hanc inopiam, insita rapiendi cupiditas, & prædæ majoris opinio, quām quanta ex direpto nostro nauigio poterat cogi, sua sponte ad vim inferendā, etiam contra ius naturale ac gentium, accendebat. Arma igitur expediunt, passis velis, instructa acie, directo cursu in nostrum portum inuehuntur. Quibus argumentis Barbarus ille, cuius maximè indicio fueramus proditi, cùm hostilem in nos Anglorum animum collegisset,

for eight years, strongly fortified and occupied by a garrison of soldiers, they make a voyage every summer to the fishing grounds of the Peucoil⁸⁵ islands, to obtain fish [590] for food during the coming winter. While they were sailing thither in the summer of this year, they encountered the heavy fogs which commonly prevail upon this sea during these months; and while they were thus long delayed, and ignorant of their situation, they were gradually borne by the currents to our shore, not far from the harbor of St. Sauveur. Then, by the information of the Savages, who sinned unwittingly, and took them for friendly Frenchmen, they learned that there was a French ship in the next bay, and that, too, not a large vessel, nor defended by a numerous crew, and but lightly armed with brass cannon. Of course, no more welcome news than this could come to half-naked men, whose stock of provisions was exhausted,—men who, in addition to this poverty, were incited by an inborn love of robbery, and an expectation of greater booty than could have been obtained from the plunder of our ship, to willingly employ violence, even against natural justice and the law of nations. So they prepared their weapons, and under full sail, and with decks cleared for action, entered directly into our harbor.⁸⁶ When the Savage by whose information we had been especially betrayed perceived from these signs the hostile intentions of the English towards us, he at once recognized his mistake, and with many tears declared that he had been at fault toward us whom he thought to please. These lamentations he often thereafter repeated, when he sought pardon from us for his error, and even from his Savage countrymen, who considered our misfortune their own injury, and often threatened him with violence. Mean-

tum suum errorem agnoscere, & quod in nos deliquerat, quibus se crederet gratificari, multo detestari fletu, quem fletum deinde crebrò integrauit, cùm à nobis errati fui veniam peteret, & à Barbaris ipsis popularibus, qui nostrū casum, suam iniuriam interpretati, sæpe illi manus intentarunt. Nos interea anticipati opinione suspēsi, amicos an hostes censeremus, quos rectā in nostrā stationem secundus ventus inferebat, euentum trepidi [591] opperiebamur, cùm nauigij gubernator scapha vectus ad explorandum obuiam processit, longo tamen circuitu, ne non esset receptui locus, maximè quòd is aduerfo, illi obsecundante vento vterentur. Sed explorato nihil fuit opus, classicum canentes inuehebantur, tela eatenus modò inhibentes, dū ea ex propinquo liceret adiicere; atque ipsos nauis defensores sigillatim destinare. Quattuordecim grandioribus tormentis, catapultis verò maioris modi, *Mosquetos* vocant, sexagenis, impetu factō in nauigium nostrum, non sublatis anchoris ad motū inhabilem, decem modò propugnatoribus instructum, ærearum cannarum absente libratore, non multæ operæ fuit illius, atque omnium nostrū expugnatio, quos in continente Sauffæius distinuerat. Gilbertus du Thet noster propugnatorem in nauī agebat, cùm ab hostiis funestarum glandium tempestas maximè ingrueret, qua in procella confossus letali plaga, chirurgi Angli Catholici multa licet diligentia curatus, postri-die Sacramentorum opportuno solatio adiutus, religiosa morte occubuit. Nos verò vniuersi in potestatem

while, we were in doubt whether we should judge as friends or enemies those whom an in-shore breeze was bearing straight towards our position; [591] while the pilot of the ship set out to meet and reconnoiter them in a small boat, by a long circuit, however, in order that he might not be left without a way of retreat, but especially because the wind was contrary to him, but favorable to the strangers. But there was no need of reconnoitering, for they advanced, sounding the signal for battle, only reserving their fire until they could use it at close quarters, and aim at the defenders of the ship one by one. With fourteen great cannon, and sixty guns of the larger size, which they call *Mosquets*, they made their attack upon our ship, which was unprepared for sailing because the anchors had not been raised, and was furnished with only ten defenders, while the gunner of the brass cannon was absent; and so the capture of our ship and all of us, whom La Saussaye had scattered about upon the shore, was a matter of no great difficulty. Our brother Gilbert du Thet was assisting in the defence of the vessel, when an especially violent shower of bullets assailed them, in which he was stricken with a mortal wound; and, although attended with great devotion by an English surgeon who was a Catholic, on the following day he died most piously, after receiving the consolation of the Sacraments. But all of us had come into the power of the English Heretic,⁸⁷ who, being extremely crafty, secretly abstracted from La Saussaye's trunk the Royal commission, upon which authority rested the entire establishment of our colony in New France, in order that he might appear to treat with us not as a robber, but upon an equal footing; and then he began to urge La Saussaye to prove by what right he had planted a settle-

Hæretici Angli veneramus, qui vt erat insigniter ver-
futus, clam subducto ex Sauffæij capsis Regio diplo-
mate, cuius fide nostræ coloniæ Nouo-Francicæ tota
ratio nitebatur, vt ne prædatoris more, sed æquo
iure, nobiscum agere videretur, Sauffæïum vrgere
instituit, vti probaret, cuius auctoritate coloniam in
Canadiæ oras deduxisset. Sauffæïus vbi Gallorū Re-
gis voluntatem atque diploma laudauerat, quod se in
seriniis luculentum habere diceret, allatis capsis, [592]
cuius claves adhuc seruauerat, iussus est illud expro-
mtere; sed ad capfas vbi ventum est, cætera omnia
integra, suisque locis digesta agnoscebat Sauffæïus,
diploma tamen non comparebat: quod vbi nullum
proferebatur, tum Prætor Anglus vultu ac voce ad
feueritatem compositis, vehementer offendi, fugitiuos,
& meros piratas nos omnes afferere, dignos nece præ-
dicare, rem nostram militi suo diripiendam tradere,
nos denique hostium loco habere. Quod autem faci-
nus Angli ab summa iniuria exorsi fuerant, videban-
tur maiore quoque iniuitate pertexturi, vt prioris
noxæ memoriam posteriore obruerent, nisi maturè
obuiā iretur. Quare Prætorē nostri adeunt, se, ad-
huc ignorantи qui essent, ingenuè aperiunt, ne im-
belli victoria elatus de contubernio suo statuat seue-
riùs, obsecrant; humanæ conditionis vti meminerit,
studiosè admonent: quàm benignè suis rebus vellet
consultum, vbi similis ipsum perculisset casus, tam
humaniter alienis consuleret: in primis autem consi-
deraret sibi rem esse cum innocentissimis hominibus,

ment upon the shores of Canada. When La Saussaye had cited the authority and commission of the King of France, which important document he declared that he had in his chest, his baggage, [592] of which he still retained the keys, was brought, and he was ordered to produce it; but when he opened the chest, La Saussaye recognized everything else untouched and in its proper place, but no commission appeared. When this was not forthcoming, the English Commander assumed a severe countenance and tone, and was deeply angered, calling us all runaways and mere pirates, and, declaring us worthy of death, handed over our property to his crew to be pillaged, and, finally, treated us as enemies. Now it seemed probable that the English, unless they should quickly be hindered, were about to cover up the outrage which they had already begun, with some greater crime, in order that they might conceal the memory of the previous injury by a fresh offence. Wherefore our brethren approached the Captain; frankly revealed themselves to him, as he was still ignorant of their identity; and begged him not, in elation over his easy victory, to adopt severe measures against their colony; they earnestly warned him to remember the conditions of human life, saying that just as he would wish his own interests mildly handled, if a similar calamity had fallen upon him, so he ought to act humanely in the case of others; moreover, that he should especially consider that he was dealing with innocent men, to whom no fault could be charged beyond the fact that, because of their blamelessness, they had been too careless in a peaceful spot. They were heard somewhat kindly by the Captain, and received with respectful address; the only thing of which he disapproved being that Fathers of

quibus nihil noxæ obiici posset, quām ab sua innocētia in pacato solo fuisse nimium securos. Comiter admodum fuit auditī à Prætore, atq; honorificis accepti verbis, id vnum dumtaxat nō probante, quōd Patres Societatis, ab religionis & prudētiae fama benē vulgō audientes, in fugitiuorum & prædonum turba versarentur. Contubernij verò sui vniuersi cum cæteram probam vitam, tum in eo, quo de agebatur, summa innocentia cùm nostri validis probassent argumentis, visus est Prætor, [593] affensionem præbuisse, atque id modò habuisse, quod in nobis argueret, negligentiam in conseruādo nostræ expeditionis diplomate. Ab eo igitur tēpore Patres nostros perhumaniter habuit, atque honorificè in omnibus, mensāque benignè accepit. Vno interea scrupulo angebatur, quōd cum parte remigum gubernator nostræ nauis euaserat, cuius fuga, & rei gestæ nuncius per illum allatus, ne quid incommodi alicunde sibi arcefferet, verebatur, eoque magis, quōd ille de nocte scapha sua ad nauim captiuam appulsa, reliquam remigum manum inde subduxerat. Hic certè gubernator, tametsi Caluinianus, adiit de nocte ad Patrem Biardum, eiusque apprehensa manu, multis obsecrationibus adhibitis, iussit eum cæterosque Patres de fe, quantumuis fide ac ritibus alieno, omnia Christiani ac popularis hominis officia exspectare, ac persuasum habere, nulli rei defuturū, quæ salutē ipsorum spectaret: vterentur modò liberè ipsius opera, viderētque quid animi sumturi essent ad fugā capeſcendā. Prolixè

the Society, who had commonly so good a reputation for piety and wisdom, should be among a band of runaways and pirates. When our brethren had proved by strong evidence the entire blamelessness of their colony, not only in respect to their honorable life in other ways, but also in that which was the subject of the conversation, the Captain seemed [593] to yield his assent, and to find as the only fault in us our neglect to preserve the commission of our expedition. From that time on, he treated our Fathers with great consideration, and received them in all matters with honor, and with kindness at his table. In the meantime he was troubled because the pilot⁸⁸ of our ship had escaped, together with a part of the crew; and he feared that harm might in some way fall upon himself, because of the pilot's being free to announce what had taken place; and the more so, because the latter came in his boat at night to the captured ship and took off from it the rest of the crew. This pilot, indeed, although a Calvinist, came by night to Father Biard, and, taking him by the hand, with many protestations bade him and the other Fathers to expect from him, as far as faithfulness and devotion could go toward another, all the services of a Christian and a fellow-countryman, and to be persuaded that he would neglect nothing which might contribute to their safety; to employ his aid freely, and consider what they should decide upon, as to making their escape. Father Biard thanked him profusely, and promised that he would remember such earnest goodwill towards himself and his associates; but added, that he would make no plans concerning himself until he should see the entire colony placed in safety, and then he would leave to God the decision of his own case; that in the meantime the pilot ought

gratias egit Pater Biardus, memoremque se futurum sponsodit tam studiosæ in se ac suos voluntatis: de se autem ait nihil se statuere, quoad totius contubernij res tuto loco positas videret, tum sui arbitrium Deo permisurum: caueret interea ipse sibi gubernator, Prætorem quidpe Anglum omnia moliri, vt eum comprehendenderet. His monitis ille instructus, vt sui discessus opinionem Anglorum animis ingeneraret, quasi receptus ad notam Gallicam nauem captandi causa festinaret, per ipsa frementium Anglorum ora intrepidè, ac insultantis [594] ore voceque, triduo post, scapham traduxit, longioreque simulato cursu, ponè vicinam insulā flexit iter, ibique delituit nostræ captiuitatis euentum obseruaturus. Nobis verò inter dubiam aut necis aut feruitutis aleam fluctuantibus, cùm apud notos Barbaros increbuisset nostræ calamitatis fama, frequentes ad nos ventitabant, magnopere miferantes nostrum infortunium, & suarum fortunarum tenuitatem in sequentem annum totum, si apud se restare vellemus, officiosissimè deferentes. De nobis tamen Argallus Prætor Anglus, & ei Legatus Turnellus mitiùs cogitauerant, in speciem certè, quām rebamur initio: pacti nempe cū Sauffæio coloniæ nostræ Duce fuerant nostrum in Galliam redditum: sed redditus conditiones erant eiufmodi, quæ parum different ab certa nostra pernicie. Triginta capitibus quot censebamur, unus linter dumtaxat, haud quaquam omnium, etiam densissimè stipatorum, capax, concedebatur, hasque cōditiones acceperat Sauffæus,

to look out for himself, as the English Captain was making every effort to capture him. When the pilot had received these warnings, in order that he might cause the English to think he had gone away, three days afterwards, fearlessly, and with taunting [594] expression and words, he passed in his boat before the faces of the angry English, as if he were hastening to seek refuge with some French ship of which he knew; and, while pretending to go farther, turned about behind a neighboring island and there lay in hiding to observe the outcome of our capture. While we were wavering between the doubtful chance of either death or imprisonment, our Savage acquaintances, having received the news of our calamity, visited us in great numbers, deeply pitying our misfortune, and most dutifully offering us the use of their scanty resources for the whole coming year, if we were willing to remain among them. However, Argall the English Captain, and his Lieutenant Turnell,⁸⁹ had decided upon milder measures toward us, in appearance certainly, than we at first expected; indeed, they had agreed with La Saussaye, the Leader of our colony, to send us back to France; but the conditions of return were of such a character that they differed little from our certain destruction. There was allowed to us, although numbering thirty persons, only one boat, which could not hold us all, even if we were crowded together as closely as possible; and these conditions La Saussaye had accepted, nay, more, he had borne witness with his own handwriting that this had been his preference, which was really the choice of certain shipwreck. However, the efforts of our Brethren prevailed, that the whole colony should not together incur imminent danger; and it was allowed that only fifteen should be placed on board the boat, of whom

quin chirographo suo erat testatus, hanc suam fuisse optionem, quæ reuera erat optio certissimi naufragij. Nostri tamē euicerunt, vt ne præfens periculum adiaret vniuersa simul turba, impetratumque est, vt quindeni modò cymbæ imponerentur, quorum vnus effet Pater Massæus, duo reliqui Patres delati ad insulas Peucoïtias Anglis piscatoribus traiciendi in Galliam commendarentur: cætera pars contubernij, quæ libens in Virginiam ibat, eò deportaretur. Altera igitur pars contubernaliū nauigatura in Galliam Sauffæio duce lintrem confcendit, locorum, & maritimæ [595] artis ignara, nauticis præterea tabulis destituta, cui Deus in tempore summisit Caluinianum illum nauis gubernatorem, valdè intentum in popularium suorum obseruandos casus, vt si qua posset via, ipsorum aduersis rebus opem ferrer. In continentem exscenderat, & Canadico cultu atque more, quasi vnus è Barbaris, tota ora maritima ferebatur, res nostras exploraturus, cùm opportunissimè incidit in proficiscentem lintrem, qua exceptus, valdè idoneum ducem hæsitantibus se præbuit, suamque cymbam & remiges quattuordecim eis socios viæ ac laborum adiunxit. Eorum penuriam, quoad inuentæ effent Gallicæ naues, opimus piscatus bis subleuauit; varius item Barbarorum in ea ora occurfus, quorum Ludouicus Membertouius lauta visceratione Orignacij famelicos accepit; Rolandus, & alij Sagami panis nonnullam copiam, alij piscium volucrūmque non exiguum annonam benevolentissimè diuiferunt. Omnia verò benefactorum id

one should be Father Massé, while the two remaining Fathers should be carried to the Peucoit islands and entrusted to English fishermen for conveyance to France. The rest of the colonists were, in accordance with their own desire, to be carried to Virginia. Therefore one portion of the settlers, under the lead of La Saussaye, entered the boat to set out for France, although ignorant of the region and of seamanship, [595] and unprovided with charts, to whom God in time sent the Calvinistic pilot, who had taken great pains to observe the fortunes of his countrymen, in order that if any opportunity should offer, he might bear aid to them in their distress. He had landed upon the continent, and, in the Canadian manner of life and custom, like one of the Savages, was traversing the entire coast, in order to ascertain our condition, when very fortunately he happened upon the boat which had set out. Upon being received on board, he showed himself a truly able leader in their perplexities, and united his boat and fourteen sailors to ours as comrades in the voyage and its labors. Up to the time the French ships were found, a lucky catch of fish twice assuaged their hunger; they were also aided by various meetings with the Savages upon that coast, of whom Louis Membertou received them, when famishing, with a liberal present of elk meat,⁹⁰ Roland and some other Sagamores furnished a supply of bread, and others most generously gave a bountiful provision of fish and birds. But of all blessings, the most grateful was the news, which the Sagamore Roland gave us, that on the neighboring coast, at Sesambre and Passepec⁹¹ harbor, were two ships preparing to return to France. The two boats, quickly directing their course thither, fortunately arrived before the vessels left; and, all having

fuit iucundissimum, quod Rolandus Sagamus admonuit, in propinquo littore ad Sefambræum, & Passepecum portum versari geminas naues redditum in Franciam adornantes. Eò cùm citissimè cursum direxissent duæ lintres, opportunè adfuerunt, antè quām solueretur, admissique omnes, velis factis in Francicam Britanniam, salui & incolumes Maclouienfe oppidū tenuerunt, vbi Pater Maffæus singulari Maclouiensis Antistitis, Magistratum, oppidanorumque humanitate ac beneficentia liberalissimè acceptus est. De Patribus autem Biardo & Quintino, vti diximus, conuenerat, [596] vt in insulas Peucoïtias transfuecti, opera piscatorum Anglorum inde in Franciam deportarentur: sed mutata pòst sententia, in Virginiam sunt destinati, cùm in captiuam nauem cui Turnellus præmerat, essent impositi cum aliis quinque de contubernio, cæteris octo sociis in Argalli Prætoriam ingressis. Virginiensis præsidij præfectus de captiuis Iesuitis nescio quid inaudierat, eisque diras cruces struebat, cuius decreti nuncius ad nostros in naues & ad cæteros captiuos aduolarat, qui nonnullis nocturnam quietem adimeret, nec ille quidē inani rumore nixus; cùm enim ad Virginiam naue appulsi essent nostri, eius furori destinabantur. Argallus autem, qui fidem suam nostris obligasset, vt suo nomine ac genere dignum erat, intrepidè acriterque Præfecto suppliciis nostros addicenti obstatit, seque incolumi captiuis suis nihil periculi futurum affeuerauit: Præfecto tamen institutum suū obstinatiū tenente, Regium diploma,

been received on board, they made sail and arrived safe and sound at St. Malo, a town in Brittany, where Father Massé was received with the greatest kindness and generosity by the Bishop of St. Malo and the magistrates and people of the town. Moreover, concerning Fathers Biard and Quintin, as we have said, it had been decided [596] that they should be conducted to the Peucot islands, and thence, by the aid of the English fishermen, should be conveyed to France ; but these plans having afterward been changed, it was resolved that they should be sent to Virginia, they, with five others of the colonists, being placed on board the captured vessel, which was in command of Turnell, while eight other settlers had entered Captain Argall's ship. The governor of Virginia had heard something concerning the captive Jesuits, and was preparing severe punishment for them; this news had come to our brethren and the rest of the prisoners on board the ships, and deprived some of their nightly rest. This report did not rest on idle rumor, for when the ship bearing our brethren had reached Virginia, they were exposed to his fury. Argall, however, who had given his word to our brethren, boldly and vehemently, as was fitting his name⁹² and race, opposed the Governor in his attempt to punish them, and declared that, as long as he lived, no danger should befall his prisoners. But, when the Governor obstinately persisted in his purpose, Argall produced the Royal charter, in dependence upon which our colony had been introduced into New France; and by its authority the Governor was restrained, and dared proceed no farther. In a meeting of the council, therefore, the whole affair was more carefully discussed, and all agreed upon the decision that Argall, with three ships, should take the

quo nostra colonia in Nouam-Frāciam deducebatur, protulit, cuius auctoritate repressus Præfectus vlt̄a tendere non ausus est. Coadto posteà concilio, cùm de re tota deliberaretur accuratiūs, ab omnibus itum est in eam fententiam, vt Argallus cum triplici instruēta naue in Nouam-Frāciam Iesuitas reduceret; eos inde cum certis captiuis in Galliam transmittenet; Sauffæium, & eius cohortem militarem, quæ in Porturegiensi arce præsidere, falsò tamen, dicebatur, in crucem ageret; Gallorum omnia domicilia diriperet, ac solo æquaret. Reditum est igitur in Nouo-Franciæ oram Gallis habitatam, vbi Sanctæ [597] Crucis, Regij Portus arces defensoribus vacuas spoliauit, & incēdit, omnia Gallici nominis monumenta deleuit, Britan-nici aliquot locis inscripsit, oram omnem in Anglii sceptri potestatem afferuit. His gerendis rebus cùm inibi degeretur, bis periculum vitae adiit Pater Biardus, quòd multis dissuaserat Argallo aditum in Portum Regium, vt nullius emolumenti operam, cuius tamen nō vulgaris fuisset deinde præda; quòd se indicem eorum locorum præbere noluerat, qui ad prædam quærebantur; nonnullorum præterea Gallorum ca-lumniæ iis locis in eum exstitissent: quibus omnibus grauiter atque ingenti suo discrimine apud Argallum Turnellumque offendit.

REGIO Portu digressus Argallus in Virginiam contendebat, incunte Nouembri, anno sexcentesimo decimo tertio, sed postridiè quām soluerat, atrocissima tempestate diuulsæ naues in lōgè diuersas oras abie-

Jesuits back to New France; that he should thence send them and certain other prisoners to France; that he should chastise La Saussaye and his military force, who were said, although falsely, to be in possession of the fort at Port Royal; and that he should plunder and level with the ground all the houses of the French. He therefore returned to that coast of New France occupied by the French, where he despoiled and burned the forts of Ste. [597] Croix and Port Royal, which were bare of defenders, destroyed all evidences of the French occupation, and erected English monuments in various places, declaring the whole coast to be under the sway of the British King. While Father Biard was present during these proceedings, his life was twice endangered, because he had dissuaded Argall with many words from entering Port Royal, on the ground that there would be no profit in the undertaking, from which they, nevertheless, afterwards obtained an uncommon booty ; because he was unwilling to become a guide to those places where plunder was sought; moreover, because slanders had been uttered against him by some Frenchmen in that region; for all of which reasons he offended Argall and Turnell deeply, to his own great peril.

ARGALL left Port Royal and started for Virginia in the early part of November of the year 1613, but, on the day after he set sail, an exceedingly violent storm arose, by which the ships were driven asunder in very diverse directions. Captain Argall's vessel, indeed, was finally borne to Virginia; the smaller of the two captured ships, with its crew, was never seen thereafter; the larger of these, which Turnell commanded, and on board of which we were, after being dreadfully beaten for sixteen days by continuous

runt: Argalli quidem Prætoria in Virginiam tandem est delata: minor è duabus nostris captiuis cum suis vectoribus nūquam deinde comparuit: alia captiua maior, cui Turnellus præsidebat, quaque vehebamur, sedecim dierum continentibus procellis fœdè vexata, pæne absuntis cibariis desperationem iam adierat, cùm cadente denique tempestate, in Virginiam secundo vento iter intendere cœpimus. Vicens qui-nis leucis, haud ampliùs, aberamus Virginiae littore, vbi de nostra nece à Præfecto decernebatur eoque nobis ea nauigatio erat odiosa, cùm derepente coortus aduersus ventus proram in *Aforas* Lusitanorum insu-las [598] obuerit, septingentis pæne leucis inde recto itinere in Ortum fitas. Eius certè venti vis quòd nihil intermitteret, Turnellus præuidebat non nisi capitiosi sui periculo in Lusitanorum potestatem se vētu-rum, qui captiuos Sacerdotes, per summam iniuriam domicilio suo auulso, spoliatosque secum traheret; & eo quidem angebatur magis, quòd Patrem Biardum Hispaniensis generis esse crederet, falsis Porturegien-sium Gallorum accusationibus persuasus, vt eius noxæ erminationem apud Lusitanos non immerito refor-midaret, si nostri Patres ad se accusandum animos adiicerent. Ea re ingenuè fatebatur vim Numinis, innocentium iniuriā vlcifcentis, sibi ac suis in ea nauigatione infestam meritò esse, qua calamitate fractus, qui calumniis sua culpa temerè persuasus, Patri Biardo valdè infensus in eum diem fuerat, magnopere deinde mitigari, eique placatior cœpit fieri.

tempests, had reached almost desperate straits, because of the exhaustion of its provisions, when the storm finally ceased, and we resumed our voyage towards Virginia with a favoring wind. We were distant not more than twenty-five leagues from the coast of Virginia, where the Governor was planning our destruction, and for this reason the voyage was hateful to us; when a contrary wind which suddenly arose turned our bow towards the *Asores* islands of Portugal, [598] situated at a distance of almost 700 leagues due East from that point. Since the force of this wind did not at all abate, Turnell foresaw that his life would be endangered should he come into the power of the Portuguese, because he was conveying as prisoners, Priests, who, with the greatest injustice, had been torn from their settlement and despoiled; and he was still more troubled because, persuaded by the false charges of the French at Port Royal, he believed Father Biard to be a Spaniard, so that he dreaded, with good reason, a denunciation of his offense before the Portuguese, if our Fathers should resolve to accuse him. Therefore he frankly acknowledged that the power of the Deity, which avenges injury done to the innocent, was deservedly hostile to him and his upon that voyage; and, overcome by this calamity, although he had, through his own fault in rashly believing slanders, been extremely unfriendly to Father Biard up to that time, he began to soften greatly and become more amiable toward him. Moreover, even if the force of the wind were not driving them to the *Asores*, still, scarcity of provisions and fresh water compelled them to go thither, though against their will; wherefore, it was necessary for Turnell to take precautions lest the presence of our Fathers should cause him damage; as no danger was to be feared

Vt autem ventorum violentia non adigeret ad *Aforas*: cibariorum tamen eò etiam nolentes amandabat, & aquæ dulcis penuria; quamobrem Turnello videndum erat, ne quid ipsi damni arcefferet Patrum nostrorum præsentia, ex quibus periculi nihil imminebat, si naue procul in anchoris inhærente, per scapham in portum missam necessaria annona pararetur, quod futurum Turnellus sperauerat. Contrà verò quām crederet, accidit: appulsis enim ad Faëalem insulā Aforarum vnam, sivebundum fuit in portum intimum, atque in ciuum oculis inter cæteras naues consistendum: quòd vehementius paullò inuectis, cùm nostra nauis in Hispaniensem faccari nauē impacta, [599] proræ anterius velum detersisset, Nauarchus Hispanus piratam conclamauit, turbamque nauticam ad arma exciuit. Paucis antè hebdomadis Gallus subita irruptione nauem in eodem portu spoliauerat, vnde Hispani similem casum veriti, hoc vehementius trepidauerant, tantóque sagaciūs in Anglum inquirendum arbitrabantur. Quare Turnello exscendendum in continentem fuit, quem obsidis loco haberent Hispani, dum accuratè lustrarentur interiora nauis, Patribus interim ponè lintrem studiosissimè delitescentibus, ne quid detrimenti ex eis Anglo crearetur, si comparerent. Perdifficilis erat latebra loco minimè idoneo, re adeò repentina, tamque accuratis scrutatoribus, nauis omnia intima rimantibus: sed lynceos eorum oculos fugerunt nostri, magna sua voluptate, quòd Anglum ita feruassent: maiore Angli gaudio, quòd præter spem,

from them, if the ship should remain at a distance at anchor, and the necessary provisions should be secured by sending a small boat into the harbor, as the Captain hoped to do. Matters turned out, however, contrary to his expectations; for when we approached Faëal, one of the Asores islands, we were compelled to enter the inmost harbor, and take a position among the other ships under the eyes of the inhabitants. Having entered thither a little too swiftly, when our vessel collided with a Spanish treasure-ship [599] and carried away its forward jib, the Spanish Captain shouted out that we were pirates, and aroused his crew to arms. A few weeks before, a Frenchman had plundered a ship in the same harbor by a sudden attack; whence the Spaniards, fearing a similar fate, had been the more alarmed on this occasion, and thought an investigation still more necessary in the case of an Englishman. Turnell was therefore obliged to disembark upon the land, where the Spanish held him as a hostage while the interior of the ship was being thoroughly searched, the Fathers, in the meantime, carefully hiding behind a boat, in order that the Englishman might suffer no harm on their account if they should be discovered. Concealment was very difficult in a place not at all convenient, as the affair arose very suddenly, and there were so careful searchers, who rummaged the entire interior of the ship; but our brethren escaped their lynx eyes, greatly to their own delight, because they had thus preserved the Englishman; but with greater pleasure to the Englishman, because he recognized that he had been saved, contrary to his expectations and his deserts, by those whom he had most wickedly deprived of their liberty. This service and remarkable good-faith the English recognized at that time with

ac suum meritum, ab iis feruatum se agnosceret, quibus libertatem per summū scelus ademerat. Id beneficij genus, singularemque fidem, Angli & in præsentia ingentibus grati animi argumentis agnoscebant, & deinceps sæpenumerò, maximè apud suos Ministros, cum summa Patrum laudatione, prædicarunt. Tres solidas hebdomadas substtitit in eo portu nauis Anglicana, tantumdemque abditi Patres sole caruerunt; inde omisso in Virginiam itinere, Turnellus in Britanniam contendit, sed recta nauigationis semita cum nos tempestas deieciisset, in oram Vualliae ad Occasum violenter nos impegit: vbi cùm nauem annona deficeret, Turnellus Pembrochum [600] oppidum adiit commeatus parandi gratia. Eius oppidi magistratis Turnellus mouit suspicionem maritimi latronis, quòd & homo Anglus Francica verehetur naui, & nullam litteram scriptæ auctoritatis proferret, qua suam nauigationem tueretur: neque vel iurato affueranti, se tempestate diuulsu à Prætore suo Argallo, fides habebatur. Cum eum igitur omne probationum genus destituisset, citauit dictorum suorum testes duos Iesuitas, quos haberet in naui, quorumque incorruptæ fidei neminem mortalium diceret posse meritò refragari. Patribus ergo perhonorificè interrogatis, cùm pro testimonio apud magistratum publicè dixissent, Turnellus fuit in honore, atque vt virum nobilem decuerat, probè omnia gessisse creditus est: nostris verò est honor habitus, & apud *Maiorem Vrbis*, vt vocant, Magistratum plebeium scilicet, hospitium est

marked signs of gratitude, and often thereafter spoke of the Fathers with great praise, especially before their Ministers. Three entire weeks the English ship remained in that harbor, and the same length of time the Fathers were hidden away and deprived of the sunlight; then, abandoning the voyage to Virginia, Turnell proceeded to Britain. But, when a storm had diverted us from the direct prosecution of our voyage, it carried us violently Westward to the coast of Vuallia;⁹³ and when here provisions failed the ship, Turnell entered the town of Pembroke [600] for the sake of obtaining supplies. The officials of this town suspected him of piracy upon the high seas, because, although an Englishman, he was sailing in a French vessel, and produced no written testimonials of the authority under which he was making his voyage; and when he made oath that he had been separated by a storm from his Captain, Argall, he was not believed. When, therefore, every sort of evidence had failed him, he cited as witnesses for his statements the two Jesuits whom he had on board the ship, whose incorruptible integrity, he said, no mortal could deservedly call in question. Therefore, when the Fathers had been very respectfully interrogated, and had given their testimony in public before the magistrate, Turnell was placed in honor, and was believed to have done everything honestly, as befitted a gentleman; but our brethren were treated with distinction, and were entertained as guests by the *Mayor of the City*, as he is called, that is, the Magistrate of the common people. When Nicholas Adams, who then represented the Minister of the marine at Pembroke, and in the presence of whom our brethren had given their testimony, heard that they had extremely bad fare upon the ship, he di-

affignum. Qui pro Præfecto rei maritimæ ius Pembrochij tum dicebat Nicolaus Adams, apud quem nostri testimonium dixerant, vbi audiit pessimè iis esse in nauigio, iussit eos diuersari apud eū Magistratum, quem indicauimus, suaque fide omnia eis suppeditari copiosè, quibus si deesset vnde sibi rependerent, Dei causa se iis sumtuum gratiam libenter facere dicebat, quod putaret minimè decere, ab omni dignitate ac doctrina instructis viris nihil apud Pembrochios ciues humanitatis relinqu. Missum erat ad Britanniæ Regem de nostris, cuius dum rescriptum exspectatur, frequentes vifendi conferendique gratia vndique ad nostros adeunt de nobilitate, de magistratibus, ac ministris [601] etiam, quorum quaternos in disputationis palæstra cum illis commisit quidam de proceribus, doctrinæ periclitandæ studio. De illorum autem negotio cùm in Regiam allatum esset, iam inaudierat Regis Christianissimi legatus captiuum esse nauigium, & Francos Iesuitas, vrgebatque omnium, ac maximè nostrorum libertatem, quod eius rei habuerat ab suo Rege studiosius iniuncta mandata. Nihil itaque moræ fuit, quin nostri Pembrochio Douerum arcefferentur, vnde breui traiectu Itium Portum, Francicæ oræ oppidum, incolumes lætique deportati sunt, decimo suæ captiuitatis pæne affecto mense, quo loco Darquieni Dynastæ, Regio præsidio Præfecti, & Baulæi Decani eximia humanitate, beneficentiaque lautissimè accepti sunt, idoneo præterea donati viatico, quod Ambianos iter intendentibus in suum Collegium abunde esset.

rected that they should be entertained at the home of the Magistrate whom we have mentioned, and that upon his own responsibility everything should be abundantly supplied to them; and if they should lack the means to repay him, he said that for the sake of God he would willingly do them the favor of meeting the expense, because he thought it very unbecoming that no kindness should be shown among the citizens of Pembroke to men distinguished in every way for merit and learning. A message had been sent to the King of Britain concerning our brethren; and, while an answer thereto was being awaited, many came, for the purpose of seeing and conversing with the fathers, from the ranks of the nobles, of the officials, and even of the ministers, [601] four of whom one of the councilors put into the arena of debate with our brethren, with the desire of testing their doctrine. Moreover, when their case had been reported at Court, the ambassador⁹⁴ of the Most Christian King had already heard that a ship with French Jesuits had been captured, and urged the release of all and especially of our brethren, because he had from his King strict commands to this effect. There was therefore no delay in the conveyance of our brethren from Pembroke to Dover, whence, after a short passage, they safely and joyfully arrived, after almost ten months of captivity, at Itius Portus,⁹⁵ a town on the French coast. Here they were received most honorably, with especial kindness and favor from Sieur d'Arquien, Commander of the Royal garrison, and Dean Boulaye; a suitable viaticum was also given to them, which was abundant for their needs during the trip to their College at Ambians⁹⁶ [Amiens].

Now he who measures the undertaking by ordinary

IAM Nouo-Francicæ Miffionis operæ quantum promouerint rem Christianam inter Barbaros, non facile dispiciet, qui rem vulgi trutina metietur: qui verò negotium natura sua perarduum, interuenientibus etiam aliunde casibus valdè impeditum, æquis momentis volet æstimare, maximè idoneis, atque illustribus initiiis asperrium solum Euangelicæ fermenti præparatum, fateatur neceſſe est. In primis enim quantum, quæſo, illud est, belluini prorsus ingenij atque moris gentem, nuper ab omni commercio externo alienissimam, ab sua impotentia suspiciosissimam, ſic nunc eſſe nobis cōciliatā, ea de noſtris hominibus opinione imbutam, vt eos ſummo ambitu quilibet Barbarorū cōuentus [602] expetat, in ſua ora domicilium habere cupiat, de fuis copiolis annua cibaria deferat, mœrore ac fletu ſuum eorum desiderium testetur, implacabili odio in Britannos, noſtræ infestos quieti, feratur? Magnum quiddam profecto eſt, & ingentis ad fidem illis animis ingenerandam momenti, erga illius præcones tam propensa ferri voluntate, fiducia, & veneratione. Illud autem alterum longè maius eſt, tantóque ad Barbarorum efficiendam ſalutem potenterius, quantò alienius eſt ab humanarum affectionum ratione, diuinisque motionibus proprium magis. Altè iam infedit Canadianum animis illa ſententia, æternis addici cruciatibus, qui Baptifmi expertes ē viuis decedant, vt tametsi valētes Christianæ legis conditio-nes, ſuo ſenu paullò asperiores, haud facile ſubeant, moribundi tamen Baptifmum ingentis omnino bene-

standards, will not easily see how greatly the work of the Mission of New France has advanced the Christian religion among the Savages; he who will fairly estimate an enterprise very difficult in its nature, and greatly hindered also by the interruption of calamities from without, must confess that the rugged soil has been prepared for the seed of the Gospel with very advantageous and glorious beginnings. For, in the first place, is it not a great thing, I ask, that a race of utterly brutal disposition and manners, lately keeping itself far aloof from all external intercourse, extremely suspicious by reason of its impotence, should be now so conciliated towards us, and entertain such sentiments for our brethren, that Savages of every tribe seek them out with the greatest pains, [602] desire them to have a residence in their territory, offer them annual supplies from their scanty store, testify by grief and weeping to their longing for them, and regard the English, the enemies of our peace, with implacable hatred? It is indeed something great, and of the utmost importance to the implanting of the faith in those minds, that they meet its heralds with such emphatic good-will, confidence, and veneration. Moreover there is another influence far greater, and so much the more powerful in effecting the salvation of the Savages as it is remote from the sphere of human affections and more characteristic of heavenly emotions. Already there has become deeply seated in the minds of the Canadians the belief that those who die without Baptism are consigned to eternal torments; consequently, as long as they are in health, they do not readily submit to the rules of the Christian faith, which to their ideas are a little too harsh; but when at the point of death, they regard Baptism as certainly a great blessing,

ficij esse ducant, cupidéque appetant. Cuius doctrinæ quoniam Patres Societatis auctores habent, eamque combiberunt intimis sensibus, eius sua sponte illos admonent, & memores esse iubent, quoties popularium quis deterius affectus decumbit, hortanturque suos Doctores vti obitum ægroti præuertant, salutaribus aquis lustrantes, antè quām occumbat. Atque hos quidem animorum motus, in barbarissimis alioqui hominibus, biennij cultura, & ea quidem non assidua, sed frequentibus interpellata difficultatibus, duo Patres effecerunt, non leuibus certè momentis ad Euan-gelici verbi fatus in ea gente magnis incrementis propagandos. Quam ad propagationem, sacrarum pre-cationum, & Baptismi [603] inusitata vis, insignibus aliquot documentis apud eam nationem interdum pro-dita, incitamento non mediocri videtur olim futura. Patri Biardo ad Eplani piscis amnem die quodam agenti affertur nuncius ab ægrota, & animam agente muliere, quæ ipsum videre atque alloqui valdè cupe-ret, ad Sanctæ Mariæ Sinum, duabus ab eo amne leucis. Eò ducem habuit vnum de contubernio, feminamque more gentis præter focum stratam depre-hendit, tertia iam hebdomada miserè languentem: ægram, quoad per eius morbum licuit, Catechesi necef-saria instruit, adhibitifq; pro re nata precibus cruce ad pectus appensa munit, seque vocari iubet, si quid ei postea deterius accidat. Postridie mulier bene fana è foco exsilit, & graui onusta facco ad maritum quattuor inde leucas vegeta contendit. Eam fanatio-

and eagerly seek it. Since they have the Fathers of the Society as authorities for this doctrine, and have absorbed it into their inmost souls, of their own accord they warn and remind their Teachers of it, whenever any one of their friends is prostrated by some severe complaint, and urge them to anticipate the death of the patient by sprinkling him with the saving waters, before he shall perish. And, indeed, these emotions of the mind, in men who are in other respects most savage, two Fathers have created by a training of two years, and that indeed not continuous, but interrupted by numerous difficulties, which is certainly no light incentive toward propagating the seed of the Gospel among that race with flourishing increase. To this propagation, the unaccustomed power of holy prayers and of Baptism, [603] sometimes disclosed among this people in several remarkable instances, seems likely to be no small incentive in the future. When Father Biard was occupied one day at the river of the Eplan fish, a message was brought to him from a sick woman at the point of death, who was very anxious to see and converse with him, at Bay Ste. Marie, two leagues from that river. He had one of the colonists as a guide thither, and found the woman lying, according to the manner of her race, near the hearth, and now miserably languishing in the third week of her illness. He instructed the invalid, as far as her disease permitted, in the necessary parts of the Catechism; strengthened her by prayers adapted to the circumstances, and a cross hung upon her breast; and directed that he should be called, if she should thereafter grow worse. The next day the woman arose from the hearth entirely well, and, loaded with a heavy bag, started briskly for her husband, who was at a dis-

nem Caluinianus Dieppensis omnium primus obseruauit, confessimque illius euentum mirabilem nunciaturus ad Patrem Biardum accurrit. Idem Pater in ora Pentegoetia cum Biencourtio versabatur, vbi pro instituto mapalia Barbarorum circumiens, ægros visebat, solabatur, precibus, ac Christianis documentis iuuabat. Ibi tertium iam mensem æger decumbebat, cuius salus erat conclamata, quem Barbari vifendum Patri obtulerunt. Frigido sudore totus manabat, certo fere mortis indice, cùm iam eum gravis æstus tenuisset, cui post preces, & breuia fidei documenta, cùm Pater crucem fæpius exosculandam porrexisset, eique de collo pensilem reliquisset, frequentibus Barbaris audientibus, & quæ gererentur mirè [604] probantibus, ab eo ad nauē & Biencourtium rediit. Postera verò die Biencourtio cum indigenis in naue permutationibus mutuis occupato, in eā nauem fanus ingressus ille æger, heri moribūdus, crucemque gratulabūdus, magnificè ostentās, adiit ad P. Biardū, ingentiq; gaudio suam ei sanitatem testatus, virtuti S. Crucis acceptā tulit. Illustrius multò est id quod sequitur, & ad Barbarorū sensum in Baptismi laudē singulare. P. Biardus, & Mottæus Sauffæij Legatus, Simonque Interpres vnā iuerant ad considerandam areā Sancti Saluatoris domicilio designatā, vnde redeuntibus procul ad aures accidit lamētabilis v lulatus quærentibusq; à Barbaro comite causā lugubris clamoris, responsum est, follemne illud esse alicuius iam iam vita functi argu-

tance of four leagues. A Calvinist from Dieppe first of all observed this cure, and immediately ran to Father Biard to announce the wonderful event. The same Father was with Biencourt on the banks of the Pentegoët, where, according to his custom, he was going about among the cabins of the Savages, visiting and comforting the sick and aiding them with prayers and Christian instruction. There a sick man was lying, who had already been ill three months, whose recovery had been despaired of, and whom the Savages brought to the Father's notice. He was completely bathed in cold perspiration, an almost certain sign of death, since a heavy fever had taken possession of him. After prayers had been said and a short lesson in the faith given, when the Father had held out a cross to him to be repeatedly kissed, and had left it hanging about his neck, many Savages listening to him, and heartily [604] approving what was done, he returned to the ship and Biencourt. But the next day, when Biencourt was engaged upon the ship in trading with the natives, that sick man, yesterday at the point of death, came on board in a state of health, and, joyfully and reverently displaying the cross, went to Father Biard, and, testifying with great delight to his recovery, ascribed it to the power of the Holy Cross. That which follows is much more remarkable, and by the Savages was ascribed solely to the merit of Baptism. Father Biard, La Motte, the Lieutenant of La Saussaye, and Simon the Interpreter, had gone together to examine the site selected for the settlement of St. Sauveur. While returning thence, they heard at a distance a lamentable wail, and, when they asked of their Savage companion the cause of this mournful outcry, the answer was made that it was the customary token

mentū. Sed propriū ad Barbarica tuguria succedentibus puer interrogatus indicauit, nō mortui, sed morientis esse cōplorationē; atque ad P. Biardum conuersus; Quin tu, inquit, accurris, si forte in viuentē adhuc incidas, & eius morti Baptifum præuertas? Ea pueri vox, tamquā cælo missa, Patrem & comites ad cursum vehementer accendit, quibus ad agrestes casas appulsis, Barbarorū sub dio stantium lōgissima ala, directo ordine instructa occurrit, atq; in spectatīs alæ, & mœrore defixa oculis obambulans pater, cuius in vlnis tenellus moriebatur puer. Hic vt animam ægerrimè trahebat, interruptis debilitate singultibus ad mortem properans, miserum parentem miseratione cruciabat & dolore. Ad quoſlibet autem infantis singultus. horrendū eiulabat parens, cuius eiulatum adstantis Barbaricæ concionis mox luctuosus [605] excipiebat v lulatus. Pater Biardus adiit ad afflictum puelli parentem, rogauitque an ipso volente moribundum infantem Baptismo effet lustraturus. Ingenti mœrore percitus Barbarus vocem mittere non potuit, sed deposito in postulantis manibus puerο, reipsa, quid cuperet, ostendit. Pater aquam popofcit, puellumque Mottæo ardentissimè suscipienti tenendum tradit, salutaribus aquis aspergit, Nicolaum de Mottæi nomine appellat, concepta precum formula Barbaris lumē ad fidei agnoscendas ingentes opes à Deo precatur. Sub eam precationem receptum de Mottæi manibus infantem matri eius præfenti defert, mater filio mammam continuò porrigit, puer oblatam

that some one had already departed this life. But as they approached nearer to the huts of the Savages, a boy, on being questioned, informed them that the lamentation was not for a dead, but for a dying person; and, turning to Father Biard, he said: "Why do you not hurry thither, if perchance you may find him still living, and administer Baptism before his death?" The voice of that boy, just as though sent from heaven, caused the Father and his companions to run swiftly, and as they reached the rude dwellings, there appeared a great crowd of Savages, drawn up in regular order, standing in the open air; and among this mournful-looking company a father walked about, in whose arms a delicate boy was dying. As the child struggled for breath, hastening towards death, and weakly gasping, it tortured the unfortunate parent with grief and sorrow. Moreover, at each gasp of the infant, the father wailed dreadfully, and his lamentation was immediately answered by a howl from the gloomy throng of Savages standing near. [605] Father Biard went to the afflicted parent of the boy, and asked whether he might, with his consent, baptize the dying child. The Savage, overcome by the depth of his grief, could not utter a word; but his action showed, by placing the child in the arms of the petitioner, what he desired. The Father asked for water, and giving the child to La Motte to hold, who eagerly received it, he sprinkled it with the saving waters, christened it Nicholas de la Motte, and formulating a prayer, begged from God light for the Savages, that they might recognize the immense blessings of the faith. After this prayer he took the infant from the hands of La Motte and gave it to its mother, who was present; the mother immediately gave her breast to the child, who greedily accepted

cupidè arripit, lac ad fatietatem haurit, atque dein ceps fanus vegetūsque vixit. Vniuersus interim Barbarorum, qui circumsteterat, globus rei haud visitatæ defixus miraculo, petrarum instar immotus, ac tacitus hærebat in vestigio. Ad eos igitur sic animo comparatos noster, quæ visa sunt in rem præsentem quadrare, verba fecit, quæ audis mentibus hauferunt, atque ubi perorauerat, iussit singulos in tuguria se recipere. Vti venerabundi ac trementes eius sermonem summa reuerentia exceperant, ita cum cœtus facta missione receptum in suas casas indixit, alto silentio præferentes inusitatum obsequium, in sua quisque tuguria pacatissimè, citissimeque dilapsi sunt. Hæc & huiusmodi alia in Barbarorum oculis, summa ipsorum admiratione, nec minore fructu gesta, quifquis perpenderit, vtilissimis principiis inchoatam Nouo-Francicam Missionem meritò iudicabit.

it, partook of the milk to satiety, and finally lived, healthy and vigorous. In the meantime, the whole circle of Savages who had stood about, struck by the marvelousness of the unusual occurrence, remained motionless as stones, and stood silently in their tracks. Therefore, while they were thus prepared in mind, our brother addressed to them such words as seemed appropriate to the subject in hand; and when he had finished, bade them depart to their own huts. As they, trembling and reverential, received his discourse, with the greatest respect, so when, the object of their gathering having been accomplished, he ordered them to depart to their huts, they slipped away, silently exhibiting this unusual obedience, quietly and quickly, each to his own dwelling. Whoever shall carefully examine these and other like acts which have been performed in the sight of the Savages, greatly to their astonishment, and no less to their benefit, will justly conclude that the Mission of New France has been commenced under very advantageous beginnings.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA : VOL. II

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Our copy of Biard's letter (written in French) to his provincial, dated January 31, 1612, is from Carayon's *Première Mission*, pp. 44-76, noted under Bibliographical Data of Documents III.-VI., in our Volume I.

X

We follow the style and make-up of O'Callaghan's Reprint of Biard's *Missio Canadensis*, designated as "No. 1" in the Lenox Catalogue. According to Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1890), vol. i., p. 1439, this document was originally published in the *Annuæ Litteræ Societatis Jesu*, an. 1611 (Dillingen, n. d.), pp. 121-143. The British Museum has a copy of this volume of *Annuæ Litteræ*, described in its catalogue as published at "Dilingæ [1615?]." Sommervogel adds, regarding *Missio Canadensis*: "Was it not published separately? I find it thus indicated in the catalogue of Mr. Parison, no. 1786." According to a letter written by Father Carrère (June 17, 1890) to Father Jones, of Montreal, the original MS. of this letter was then in the archives of Roder, France.

In Carayon's *Première Mission* (pp. 77-105) there is given a French version of this letter.

It is internally evident that the letter was commenced January 22nd, and finished "ultimo die Januarÿ." In Father Martin's MS. (translated) copy,

preserved in the Library of Parliament, at Ottawa, he wrote upon it the former date, and it is so calen-dared in the catalogue of that library. Carayon first applied to it the latter date. This of itself has led to some bibliographical confusion.

In Carayon's *Bibliographie Historique de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1864), p. 178, a notice of the original publication is thus given: "P. Biard.—Epistola ad R. P. Præpositum generalem, e Portu Regali in Nova Francia, data ultimo die Januarii anni 1611, qua regionem illam describit, et Patrum Societatis Jesu in eam profectionem.—'Ea inserta est annuis litteris Soc. Jesus ejusdem anni Provinc. Franc. ad finem.' (Sotwell.)."

O'Callaghan obtained the originals of some of his reprints from the *Annuæ Litteræ Societatis Jesu*, of which there are incomplete files in the libraries of John Carter Brown; Harvard College; St. John's College, Fordham, N. Y.; St. Francis Xavier, New York City; the Jesuit colleges at Woodstock, Md., and Georgetown, D. C.; and St. Mary's College, Montreal. The Brown Library has the richest collection.

See references to the O'Callaghan Reprint of *Mis-sio Canadensis*, in Harrisson's *Notes*, no. 405; Lenox Catalogue, p. 18; Sabin, vol. xvi., p. 542; Brown Catalogue, vol. ii., no. 119; Winsor, p. 300; Henry C. Murphy Sale Catalogue (N. Y., 1884), no. 2960; O'Callaghan Sale Catalogue (N. Y., 1882), nos. 178, 1205, 1250.

Title-page. O'Callaghan's Reprint is closely imitated.

Collation of O'Callaghan Reprint. Title, 1 p.; re-verse of title, with inscription: "Editio ad xxv ex-

emplaria restricta. O'C.'', 1 p.; Lectori, pp. iii.-iv.; text, pp. 5-37; blank, 1 p.; Index, pp. 39-45; colophon (p. 46): "Albaniae Excudebat Joel Munsellius | Mense Septembri Anno | CIO.IOCCC.LXX.", 1 p.

XI

The copy of Lescarbot's *Relation Dernière* herein followed is in Harvard College Library, where it is bound in with the same author's *Les Muses de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1612). The Harvard copy is the only original of which the present editor has knowledge; it is not listed in Gagnon's *Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne* (Quebec, 1895), but reference to it will be found in Harrisson, no. 26; Sabin, no. 40178; and Winsor, p. 300. There is a reprint of it in Cimber (Lafaist) and Danjou's *Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France, depuis Louis XI. jusqu'à Louis XVIII.*, first series, tome xv. (Paris, 1837), pp. 377-406, which, however, omits the list of names on pp. 21-24 of the original. The first series of this collection (15 vols.) was edited by L. Lafaist ("L. Cimber," *pseud.*) and F. Danjou, assistants in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the second series (12 vols.), by Danjou alone, who, on the title of tome viii. of this series, is styled "*Bibliothécaire de l'Arsenal.*" The 27 volumes were published at Paris between 1834 and 1840.

The orthography of the printed original of the *Relation Dernière* is an interesting mixture of old and new styles. It has many instances of modern spellings not found even in the Cramoisy *Relation* of 1632, which was printed twenty years later.

It will be noticed that the "Privilege" is that granted for the publication of Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (1608).

Title-page. The one given in the present volume is a photographic facsimile of the Harvard original.

Collation. Title, 1 p.; blank, reverse of title, 1 p.; text, pp. 3-39; privilege, reverse of p. 39, 1 p.—making a total of 40 pp.

XII

In our reissue of the *Relatio Rerum Gestarum* (1613-14), we follow the original text and its pagination, as given on pp. 562-605 of the *Annuæ Litteræ Societatis Jesu*, for 1612, printed at Lyons in 1618, which we found at the Riggs Memorial Library, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. This forms the text of O'Callaghan's Reprint, which is arbitrarily designated in the Lenox Catalogue as "no. 6." See references in Sabin, no. 69245; Winsor, p. 300; Lenox, p. 19; and Brown Catalogue, no. 170, and p. 166. Sales are noted in Barlow (no. 1272), Murphy (no. 2960), and O'Callaghan (no. 1250) sale catalogues.

Title-page. We closely imitate that of the O'Callaghan Reprint.

Collation of Reprint. Title, 1 p.; reverse of title, with inscription: "Editio viginti quinque exemplaria. O'C," 1 p.; Tabula Rerum, pp. iii., iv.; text, pp. 1-66; colophon (p. 67): "Albaniae Excudebat Joel Munsellius | Mense Martis Anno | CIICCCCC LXXI," 1 p.

NOTES TO VOL. II

(*Figures in parentheses, following number of note, refer to pages of English text.*)

1 (p. 7).—Carayon prints *neuf*, but this is either a slip of the pen upon the part of Father Biard, or a misprint. The Fathers arrived at Port Royal, May 22, 1611, so that this portion of the letter was written just eight (*huit*) months after.

2 (p. 27).—Kennebec River. Sometimes written, also, Rimbegui, Kinibequi, Kinibeki, and Quinebequy. Maurault says that the Abenakis called this river Kanibesek, meaning "river that leads to the lake."—*Histoire des Abenakis* (Quebec, 1866), pp. iv., 5, and 89, note 2.

3 (p. 27).—Penobscot River. It was sometimes written, also, Pemptegoet and Potugoët.

4 (p. 27).—In their first voyage (1604), De Monts and Poutrincourt visited and named the river St. John; and at the mouth of the Rivière des Etechemins (so named by Champlain; by the Indians called Scoodick or Schoodic), they found an island which they called St. Croix, a name in later days given to the river itself. It lies in the middle of the river, opposite to the dividing line between Calais and Robbinston, Me. Here De Monts, Champlain, and their 77 fellows spent a miserable winter, while Poutrincourt returned to France for colonists and supplies to plant his proposed settlement at Port Royal. Thirty-five of the St. Croix party had died of scurvy before relieved in June, 1605, by Pontgravé, De Monts' lieutenant. In August, after a fruitless voyage along the New England coast, De Monts took his party to Port Royal, and there began a settlement before Pontgravé's arrival. Biard's letter indicates that winter fur-trading posts were maintained both at St. Croix and on the St. John, for several years thereafter.—See Parkman's *Pioneers*, pp. 291-293.

Champlain's chart of the island may be found in his *Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. ii., p. 32. Lescarbot, in *Nouv. France* (Paris, 1612), p. 469, says of the soil: "It is very good, and delightfully prolific."

The identity of St. Croix Island was determined in 1798, by the commissioners appointed, under the treaty of 1783, to determine the

boundary-line between New Brunswick and the territory of the United States. Holmes says, in *Annals of America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1829), vol. i., p. 122, note 1: "Professor (afterwards President) Webber, who accompanied the commissioners in 1798, informed me that they found an island in this river, corresponding to the French descriptions of the Island St. Croix, and, near the upper end of it, the remains of a very ancient fortification, overgrown with large trees; that the foundation stones were traced to a considerable extent; and that bricks (a specimen of which he showed me) were found there. These remains were, undoubtedly, the reliques of De Monts's fortification." Several cannon balls were also discovered while making excavations on this island, about 1853. The island has been known as Dochet's Island and Neutral Island; but in recent years it has been formally and appropriately named De Monts' Island. See Godfrey's *Centennial Discourse* (Bangor, 1870), cited in *Champlain's Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. ii., p. 33; also Williamson's *Maine*, vol. i., p. 88, and vol. ii., p. 578.

5 (p. 47).—George Weymouth, a Bristol navigator, entered Kennebec River in June, 1605. The stream was called by the natives Sagadahoc (sometimes spelled Sagadahock). Weymouth's enthusiastic reports led the Plymouth Company—of which Lord John Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges were leading members—to plant a colony in August, 1607, at first probably on Stage Island, but later on the shores of Atkins' Bay, ten miles up the Kennebec. Owing to the death of Popham, their chief patron, and other misfortunes, the colonists returned to England in 1608. For several years thereafter, Gorges and Sir Francis Popham—son of Lord John—fitted out trading and fishing expeditions to the region, but no permanent colony was again attempted on the Kennebec until 1630. Weymouth had serious difficulties with the natives (1605), and kidnapped several of them; the colonists themselves were, towards the close of their stay, cruel to their neighbors; the outrages in 1609 were doubtless the operations of visiting English traders. The boats and other English property seen by the French in 1611, at the Penobscot and Kennebec, of course belonged to traders, who were at this time numerous along the main shore. Cf. Williamson's *Maine*, vol. i., pp. 53, 191-239; and *Memorial Volume of Popham Celebration*, Aug. 29, 1862. (Portland, 1863).

6 (p. 49).—These Indians were the Tarratines (called Penobscots by the English), one of the three tribes of the Etchemins,—the other two being the Openangos (the Quoddy Indians of English chronicles) of New Brunswick, and the Marachites of Nova Scotia. For origin of their name, see *Maine Hist. Colls.*, vol. vii., p. 100.

The principal Tarratine village was, a half century later, near where Bangor now stands. The town visited by Biard was apparently at or near the present Castine, on Major-bigyduce Point (for derivation of this name see *Maine Hist. Colls.*, vol. vi., pp. 107-109). See topographical description in Williamson's *Maine*, i., pp. 70, 71. The "Chibuctous" River, of Biard, was, apparently, but the "wide-spread" of the Penobscot, stretching eastward of Castine. French traders were at Castine at a very early date. The English built a trading fort there in 1625-26, which fell into the hands of the French in 1632. It was styled Pentagoët in those days; but in 1667, was rechristened Castine, after Baron de St. Castine, who for several years maintained a station there. The Dutch were in possession for a time,—indeed, Castine was continuously fortified by English, French, and Dutch, in turn, from about 1610 to 1783.

7 (p. 61).—This introductory note, "To the Reader," is furnished by Dr. O'Callaghan, in his Albany reprint of 1870, which we are here following.

The Jesuits had been banished from France by Henry IV., in 1595. He recalled them in 1603, making Father Coton, of their number, his confessor.

8 (p. 61).—It is internally evident that the document, like many others of our series, was written at intervals; this one was undoubtedly commenced in 1611 and closed in 1612. In a hurry to catch the home-returning vessel, the writer appears to have forgotten the change in the year.

9 (p. 67).—It is possible that the Biscayans originally named what is still known as Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, after the city of that name in Spain. It was known to the English by that name in Biard's time;—see John Guy's letter, May 16, 1611, in Prowse's *History of Newfoundland* (London, 1895), p. 127. Biard merely Gallicizes the word. Placentia is the chief seat of French settlement in Southern Newfoundland.—See Howley's *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland* (Boston, 1888), pp. 128, 129.

10 (p. 67).—Reference is here made to the Eskimos of Labrador. Says Prowse, (*Hist. N. F.*, pp. 590, 591); "The name Esquimaux is a French corruption of the Abenaki word 'Eskimatsie,' an eater of raw flesh. The native word is 'Innuit,' meaning 'the people.' Eskimo is the Danish form of the name, and has now quite supplanted the old French name." They were probably dubbed "Excommunicated" in Biard's time, because of the marked hostility to them of all the other savage tribes in Canada; and the French early joined the latter in opposing them.—See Prowse, *ut supra*, p. 591. The missionaries found the Eskimos difficult material on which to work; although an occasional captive slave, brought to

the St. Lawrence by the Indians; would yield to priestly ministrations.—See Shea's *Charlevoix*, vol. iii., p. 30.

11 (p. 69).—Reference is here made to the mouth of what is now Saco River. Choüacoët was the French rendering of a native word from which the modern Saco is derived.—*Champlain's Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. ii., p. 64.

12 (p. 81).—No map could be found in the archives of the Society at Rome, where the original of this letter is preserved.

13 (p. 127).—See vol. i., note 2.

14 (p. 131).—Casquet ("les Casquetes," on maps of that period): a dangerous group of rocks in the English Channel, seven miles west of Alderney.

15 (p. 133).—See notes 3, 6, ante; and vol. i., note 11.

16 (p. 133).—See note 4, ante.

17 (p. 135).—Matachias, or matachiats; described by Champlain, in *Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. i., p. 241, as "beads and braided strings, made of porcupine quills, which they dye in various colors." Lescarbot says that the Armouchiquois, like the Brazilians and Floridians, make ornaments from bits of shell, polished and strung together in bracelets, etc.; these are called *bou-re* in Brazil, and *matachiaz* among the Northern tribes.—See his *Nouv. France*, p. 732.

18 (p. 137).—Nuncio of Pope Paul V. to Henry IV. of France; was created a cardinal, December 2, 1615.—See Laverdière's *Champlain*, p. 492; also Faillon's *Col. Fr.*, vol. i., p. 99. A fortification erected by Poutrincourt, at the entrance of Port Royal harbor, was named by him Fort d'Ubaldini.—See Lescarbot's chart of Port Royal, in vol. i. of this series.

19 (p. 141).—Named by Champlain, from its forked shape, now known as Cape Split; a promontory at entrance of Mines Bay, where it opens into the Bay of Fundy. Jean Blaeu's map, *Extrema Americæ* (1620), shows it as C. de Poitrcourt; for explanation of this name, see Laverdière's *Champlain*, pp. 271, 272.

20 (p. 141).—Sable Island is thus described by Champlain, *Voyages*, (Prince Soc.), ii., p. 8: "This island is thirty leagues distant north and south from Cape Breton, and in length is about fifteen leagues. It contains a small lake. The island is very sandy, and there are no trees at all of considerable size, only copse and herbage, which serve as pasture for the bullocks and cows which the Portuguese carried there more than sixty years ago."

The origin of the cattle here mentioned is thus explained by Edward Haies, in his report on Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage of 1583, in Goldsmid's *Hakluyt*, vol. xii., p. 345: "Sablon lieth to the seaward of Cape Briton about 25 leagues, whither we were determined

to goe vpon intelligence we had of a Portugal—who was himselfe present when the Portugals (aboue thirty yeeres past) did put in the same Island both Neat and Swine to breed, which were since exceedingly multiplied." Lescarbot, however, says the cattle were landed there about 1528, by Baron de Léry; see his *Nouv. France*, p. 22. Sable Island is noted as the scene of La Roche's unfortunate attempt at colonization in 1598, for a graphic description of which see Parkman's *Pioneers*, pp. 231-235. See Dionne's note on "Les Sablons," in his *Nouvelle France* (Quebec, 1891), pp. 311-316.

21 (p. 141).—The name Bacallaos (see vol. i., note 7) was long given to the region afterwards known as Canada. Peter Martyr says: "Sebastian Cabot him selfe, named those lands *Baccallaos* bycause that in the seas thereabout he founde so great multitudes of certeyne bigge fysshes much like vnto tunies (which th[e] inhabitanthes caule Baccallaos) that they sumtymes stayed his shippes."—See Eden's *Three English Books on America* (Arber ed., Birmingham, 1885), pp. 161, 345. Fournier's *Hydrographie* (Paris, 1667), cited in Browne's *History of Cape Breton* (London, 1869), p. 13, says: "It cannot be doubted this name was given by the Basques, who alone in Europe call that fish Bacalaos, or Bacaleos; the aborigines term them Apagé." See also Lescarbot's *Nouv. France*, p. 237; and Dionne's *Nouv. France*, pp. 327-331. Cf. Prowse (*Hist. N. F.*, p. 589); he says, in claiming the discovery of Newfoundland for the English, that *Baccalao* was but "an ordinary trade word, in use at that period." For an interesting sketch of the Basque fisheries in Newfoundland, up to the end of the 17th century, see Prowse, *ut supra*, pp. 47-49.

That part of the mainland appears on Ribero's map (1529) as "Tiera de los Bacallaos," shown also by Agnese (1554), Zaltieri (1566), Martines (1578), and in map of "Nova Francia et Canada, 1597," in Wytfleit's *Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum*. The name was restricted to the southern part of the island of Newfoundland, by Ramusio (1556); to the island of Cape Breton, by Lescarbot (1612); to an island east of Newfoundland, by De Laet (1640). The name Baccalos "still clings to an islet about forty miles north of the capital [St. John's], in which multitudes of sea-birds now buiid their nests."—Bourinot, in *Canad. Mo.*, vol. vii., p. 290. See also, Anspach's *Hist. N. F.*, pp. 296, 297.

22 (p. 147).—A long, narrow inlet, nearly parallel to the sea, on western coast of Digby County, N. S., and still known as St. Mary's Bay.

23 (p. 151).—A Basque word, meaning sorcerer, corresponding to the native *aoutmoin*.—See Biard's *Relation* of 1616, *post*. Champlain (Laverdière's ed., p. 82) calls them *Pilotoua*; and Sagard (*Canada*, pp. 98, 656), *Pirotois*.

24 (p. 157).—Henry II. of Bourbon, prince of Condé, born in 1588; nephew of and next in succession to Henry IV.; a leader in the Catholic League, and father of the great Condé. He married, in 1609, Charlotte de Montmorency, then fifteen years old, one of the most beautiful women of her day. The king fell in love with her, and his attempted intrigue led to complications that almost caused a war between France and Spain. Condé rebelled against Louis XIII., and in September, 1616, was captured and imprisoned; but he soon afterwards regained his power, which he retained until the ascendancy of Richelieu displaced it, in 1623; he died in 1646.

The house of Conti was a younger branch of the house of Condé; that of Soissons was also nearly related to the reigning family of Bourbon. Charles de Bourbon, count of Soissons, was born in 1556. He acted for a time with the League, but left it, in the hope of securing as his wife Catherine of Navarre, and became a military officer under both Henry III. and Henry IV.; Sully, however, compelled him to give up his proposed marriage with Catherine. He was Grand Master of France, under Henry IV.; later, was governor of Dauphiny, and, at his death, of Normandy. At Champlain's solicitation, he consented to become the head of De Monts's scheme for the colonization of Canada; and he was appointed (October 8, 1612) by the king lieutenant general and governor of New France, Champlain becoming commandant under him. But Soissons died, on November 1 following; and he was succeeded by Henry, prince of Condé, with the title of viceroy of New France. Mareschal de Thémis was appointed by Marie de Médicis, acting viceroy during Condé's imprisonment. Upon his liberation (1619), Condé sold his position as viceroy of Canada to Henry, duke of Montmorency, who in turn sold it (January, 1625) to his nephew, Henry de Lévis, duke of Ventadour.—See Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, vol. i., pp. 126, 127, 134, 144, 149.

Champlain (see his map of 1632) named the lake at the mouth of the Ottawa River, Lac de Soissons, in honor of his viceroy; it is now called Lake of Two Mountains.

25 (p. 157).—Charles de Gonzague, duke of Nevers, was born about 1566; his father was a prominent chief in the Catholic League, and, in 1592, introduced the order of Récollets into France. His sister, Catherine de Gonzague, married Henry I., duke of Longueville, in 1588.

26 (p. 157).—Charles de Lorraine, duke of Guise, Grand Master of France, and governor of Champagne and Provence, was born in August, 1571, and died 1640. In 1615, he was the proxy of Louis XIII., in the marriage of the latter to the Spanish infanta, Anne of Austria.

27 (p. 157).—Sieur de Praslin was captain of the royal body-guards, and lieutenant of Champagne.

28 (p. 157).—The Parliament of Paris originated in a division of the king's court, made necessary by the increase of its functions, consequent upon the progress of the royal power in France. Judicial affairs were allotted to the decision of Parliament; its organization was defined in 1302, by Philip the Fair, who ordained that it should assemble at Paris twice a year, for two months, exercising jurisdiction over the whole kingdom. Charles V. (1364-80) made the Parliament permanent. Its jurisdiction was much restricted, successively by Charles VII., Louis XI., and Francis I.; eight other provincial Parliaments had been formed, by the early part of the 16th century, which reduced that of Paris to little more than a municipal jurisdiction, and all had been thoroughly subjected to royal authority. The Parliament of Paris refused, from 1554 to 1662, to admit the Jesuits into the kingdom, and, later, opposed Henry IV.; but it was compelled to submit by Mazarin, and, later, by Louis XIV. and Louis XV. In 1762, however, it decreed the abolition of the order of Jesuits, and Louis XV. was obliged to confirm this action; though he exiled the Parliament, eight years later. Within four years, it was recalled by Louis XVI.; but supporting, in 1789, the privileged orders against the people, it lost all popularity, and in the following year was suppressed by the Constituent Assembly. It had been mainly composed of lawyers ever since Louis XII. forbade any to enter the Parliament, or to sit as judges, who were not "literate and graduate."

29 (p. 157).—The author of the *Lettre Missive* (vol. i. of this series). He is again mentioned by Lescarbot, in this *Relation*.

30 (p. 157).—The original church of Ste. Genevieve (dedicated to the patron saint of Paris) was built by Clovis, about 510. Near the beginning of the 13th century, it was replaced by another building, erected by King Philippe Augustus; this having, in time, become almost a ruin, gave way to the present handsome edifice, which was begun in 1758, and built under the auspices of Louis XV. See Hunnewell's *Historic Monuments of France* (Boston, 1884), pp. 195, 196.

31 (p. 159).—*Short robe*. A term used, at that time, to designate the military profession.

32 (p. 165).—Wheat (*blé*) is here used generically, but meaning maize; or, more probably, as a shortened form of *blé d'Inde*, the term applied by Champlain and other French explorers to the corn cultivated by the aborigines.

33 (p. 165).—The subject of agriculture among the Indians is exhaustively treated in Carr's "Mounds of the Mississippi Valley," in

Smithsonian Report (Washington, 1891), pp. 507-533. His general conclusion is that corn was "cultivated in greater or less quantities by all the tribes living east of the Mississippi and south of the great lakes and the St. Lawrence,"—indeed, far more extensively than is generally supposed; and that "the Indian looked upon it as a staple article of food, both winter and summer; that he cultivated it in large fields, and understood and appreciated the benefits arising from the use of fertilizers." Beans, squashes, and pumpkins were also staple crops. In regard to the labor of women, Carr says: "The Iroquois or Six Nations are the only people among whom, so far as I know, it cannot be shown that the warriors did take some part either in clearing the ground or in cultivating the crop; and we find that even among them the work was not left exclusively to the women, but that it was shared by the children and the old men, as well as the slaves, of whom they seem to have had a goodly number.*** This statement ['that the field-work was *not* left entirely to the women'], as to the actual condition of a large majority of the tribes living east of the Mississippi and south of the St. Lawrence, is believed to be true; yet it is not denied that there were many instances in which this labor was, practically, left to the women, owing to the fact that the men were away from home, hunting or fighting. This fact was, unfortunately, of frequent recurrence; but, as it was the result of an accidental and not of a permanent condition of affairs, it would hardly be fair to ascribe it to the existence of any custom, or to any belief in the derogatory character of the work."—Cf. Rochemonteix (*Jésuites*, vol. i., p. 97, note).

34 (p. 167).—A word derived, according to Littré, from the Basque *orenac*, meaning "deer;" elsewhere written *orignac*, *orignas*, and *orignat*; by modern writers, *original*. The "Canadian elk" (*orig-nac* being used interchangeably with *élan*, the elk of Northern Europe), or moose (the latter an Indian name), is *Alces Americanus*, the largest of the *Cervus* family. The males are said to attain a weight of 1,100 or 1,200 pounds, and a height of five feet at the shoulder. See also *Champlain's Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. i., p. 265.

35 (p. 169).—Slafter thinks that these roots were probably those of Jerusalem artichoke, *Helianthus tuberosus*. This plant, indigenous in the Northern regions of America, had been carried to Europe by the Italians, who named it *girasole* (their word for the sunflower, another species of *Helianthus*), afterwards corrupted to *Jerusalem*. Champlain saw these plants cultivated by the Indians—in 1605, near Cape Cod; and again at Gloucester, in 1606.—See *Champlain's Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. ii., pp. 82, 112. The savages also cultivated ground-nuts, of several varieties; among them,

Arachis hypogaea and *Apios tuberosa*.—See Carr's "Food of Certain American Indians," in *Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society*, vol. x., part i., pp. 168, 169.

Lescarbot says the roots mentioned in the text were called *canadas*; Ferland thinks they were those of *Apios tuberosa* (*Cours d'Histoire*, vol. i., p. 84).

36 (p. 171).—The smelt, *Salmo eperlanus*, is found in both salt and fresh water; it is four to eight inches in length.

37 (p. 171).—A small, narrow inlet (*Ance*, on Bellin's map, 1764), at the head of which is a portage to St. Mary's Bay.

38 (p. 171).—Haliburton, in his *Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1829), p. 15, note, says it is the stream now known as the Allen River; but Lescarbot, in our text, and in his chart of Port Royal, identifies it with the larger river now called Annapolis. He says it was "named l'Equille, because the first fish taken therein was an équille." Its length is about 70 miles, 30 of which are navigable. Littré defines *équille* as "the name, on the coasts between Caen and Havre, of the fish called *langon* at Granville and St. Malo, a kind of malacopter-gian fish, living on sandy shores, and hiding in the sand at low tide."

39 (p. 173).—The legitimate children of the king himself, as distinguished from those of other branches of the royal family, the latter being only "princes and princesses of the blood."

40 (p. 175).—Du Chesne (or Duquesne), and Du Jardin; see *Relation* of 1616, *post*. Ferland says (*Cours d'Histoire*, vol. i., p. 80, note): "In the *History of Dieppe*, vol. ii., mention is made of Abraham Du Quesne, a Calvinist, who commanded a Dieppe vessel engaged in the American and Senegal trade. He was father of the celebrated admiral of the same name, born at Dieppe in 1610." Shea adds (*Charlevoix*, vol. i., p. 262, note), that he "was an ancestor of the Governor of Canada, whose name was once borne by Pittsburgh."

41 (p. 175).—These orders, except the Minimes, were Franciscan. The Capuchins (so named from the sharply-pointed *capuce*, or hood, of their robe) were organized in 1528, as a new division of the *Fratres Minores* of St. Francis of Assisi; and were received into France in 1573, at the request of Charles IX., and at the recommendation of Cardinal Lorraine. In 1632, they were asked by Richelieu to take charge of the religious affairs of Canada; but, they declined this proposal, ostensibly through unwillingness to displace the Jesuits, and later went to Acadia. For an account of their work in Maine, see *Historical Magazine*, vol. viii., p. 301.

The Cordeliers, named from the knotted cord worn at the waist, have two branches,—the conventuals, who are allowed to possess real estate; and the observants, who may not own any property.

The Récollets, strictest of all the Franciscan orders, were thus termed because, devoting themselves to religious meditation (Fr. *récollection*), they asked from Pope Clement VII., in 1531, permission to retire into special convents, that they might more literally observe their founder's rule. For an account of their missionary work in Canada, see Editor's Introduction, vol. i. of this series. They carried on extensive missionary labors in Spanish America, where, in 1621, they had 500 convents, distributed in 22 provinces.—Ferland's *Cours d'Histoire*, vol. i., p. 169.

The Minimes were founded in 1453, by St. Francis de Paula, of Calabria. Their rule is especially austere, involving total abstinence from wine, flesh, and fish, and even from eggs, milk, or butter. Their founder named them *Minimos Fratres*, as a special indication of humility. He also instituted an order of Minimes for women, in 1493.

42 (p. 177).—Samuel de Champlain was born probably between 1567 and 1570 (the exact date is unknown); his parents lived at Brouage, a fortified town in Saintonge, where was a large manufacture of salt and the finest harbor on the French coast. Champlain became a navigator early in life, and was also a quartermaster in the royal army in Brittany, from 1592 to 1598.

His first voyage to America was in the service of the King of Spain; he spent the time from January, 1599, to March, 1601, in the West Indies and Mexico, and on the northern coast of South America. His valuable MS. report of this voyage, illustrated by his own sketches, was first printed in 1859 (but in an English translation), by the Hakluyt Society, at London; in it he suggests a ship canal across the isthmus of Panama. In 1603, he sailed with Pontgravé to Canada, exploring the St. Lawrence as far as the Falls of St. Louis; and again, with De Monts, early in 1604, when they founded the St. Croix colony. Champlain remained in Canada three years, carefully exploring the Atlantic coast from Canso to Wood's Holl, and returned to France in October, 1607. The next summer, he explored the valley of the St. Lawrence, with the Saguenay and other tributaries, and founded the settlement of Quebec. October 15, 1612, he was formally appointed commandant in New France. Quebec was captured by the English, July 20, 1629; but was restored to the French by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, March 29, 1632. Champlain, being again appointed governor of New France, returned to Quebec in May, 1633, where he died December 25, 1635.

43 (p. 177).—This chart was drawn by Lescarbot, and engraved by Jan Swelinck; it appears in his *Nouv. France* (Tross ed., Paris, 1866), facing page 208. It has been reproduced for the present series.

44 (p. 179).—*Gougon*, a frightful monster, in the superstitious belief of the savages, who supposed it to dwell on an island near the Bay of Chaleurs; to have the form of a woman, though of horrible aspect, and so tall that the masts of a ship would not reach to the monster's girdle; and to carry off and devour men. Champlain gives a full account of this belief, and regards *Gougon* as a demon who tormented the natives; see Laverdière's *Champlain*, pp. 125-126. Lescarbot, in his *Nouv. France*, pp. 397-403, gives the same description, and tries to prove, in a long discussion, that *Gougon* is a sort of personification of a tormenting conscience.

45 (p. 179).—*Charter party*. A document which states the terms of rent for the whole or part of a ship. The term is derived from an old usage; instead of making a duplicate of the contract, it was cut in two, each of the parties retaining one of the halves.—Littré's *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Paris, 1878).

46 (p. 185).—This young priest had sailed with De Monts, desiring to see the New World. On the shores of St. Mary's Bay, he became lost in the woods; De Monts searched for him, but in vain, and left the bay. A fortnight later, an expedition sent to St. Mary's Bay, to search for silver and iron ore, accidentally encountered poor Aubry, almost dead with fatigue and hunger, and brought him back to Port Royal. This rescue was especially gratifying to De Monts, as the priest's disappearance had caused a Protestant, who had quarreled with him about religious questions, to be accused of murdering Aubry.—*Champlain's Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. ii., pp. 20, 21.

47 (p. 189). See vol. i., note 4.

48 (p. 199).—One of the numerous names given to the St. Lawrence by early explorers and writers; it thus appears on the map of Jean Allefonsse, given in his *Cosmographie* (Paris, ed., 1575), fol. 183^A; and is so named by Champlain, in his *Voyages*. The origin of the name Canada is variously explained; but there are two leading theories: (1) That the word signifies, in Iroquois, "town," or "village." See Laverdière's *Champlain*, p. 89, note 4; Faillon's *Col. Fr.* vol. i., p. 14; *Hist. Mag.* vol. i., pp. 153, 217, 349; and *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, vol. x., pp. 161, 162. (2) That it comes from another and similar Iroquois word, meaning "lake," being applied to the country as a region abounding in lakes. See *Hist. Mag.*, vol. i., pp. 188, 315; cf. Winsor's *N. and C. Hist.* vol. iv., p. 67, note 1.—Cf. Ferland's *Cours d'Histoire*, vol. i., p. 25. The name was applied in the earlier maps (e. g., Zaltieri, 1566; Ortelius, 1570; Judæis, 1593) to a district lying along the St. Lawrence, between the Saguenay and Isle aux Coudres, or thereabouts. Later, it was given to all, or nearly all, of the valley of the St. Lawrence. See also vol. i., note 6.

49 (p. 201).—This date is evidently obtained from the “Discorso d'un gran Capitano di Mare Francese,” found in Ramusio's *Raccolta* (Venice, 1556), vol. iii., p. 423. The “Discorso” is supposed to have been written in 1539; the name of the author was unknown to Ramusio himself, but is said by Estancelin, in *Recherches *** des navigateurs Normands* (Paris, 1832), to be Jean Parmentier, of Dieppe. See Winsor's *N. and C. Hist.*, vol. iv., pp. 16, 63: cf. also Harrisse's *Discovery of North America* (London, 1892), p. 180. note 2, and D'Avezac's Introduction to Cartier's *Brief Recit* (Tross reprint, 1865), fol. vii.; both say that the “Discorso” was written by Pierre Crignon, an astronomer and pilot, and a companion of Parmentier in his voyages.

50 (p. 205).—Another name for the St. Lawrence River. The apparent etymology of this name would suggest that it was given on account of the powerful current of the river, and its discharge into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. See Trumbull's “Composition of Indian Geographical Names,” in *Conn. Histor. Colls.*, vol. ii., p. 30. Laverdière erroneously considers *Sacqué* as another form of Sagné, or Saguenay.

51 (p. 205).—One of the principal tributaries of the St. Lawrence, entering the latter 120 miles N. E. of Quebec. It is 100 miles in length, and remarkable for its wild and picturesque scenery; along the lower half of its course the banks vary in height from 500 to 1,500 feet, often overhanging the swift current below. Its ordinary depth varies from 100 to 1,000 feet, and even reaches over 3,000 feet near its mouth. It is the outlet of Lake St. John, and was for the French the chief avenue of approach to the Indian tribes around that lake, and even (by portages) to those of Hudson Bay region. This river was, throughout the French régime, the center of both trading and missionary activities for all Northeastern Canada. Tadoussac, at its mouth, from earliest times a favorite rendezvous of the Montagnais and other Eastern tribes, became under the French an important fur-trade center and Jesuit mission; and is, to-day, a notable watering-place.

The name is also spelled Sagnay, Sagné, Saghuny, etc. Thévet, in his *Grande Insulaire* (a MS. preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, and written before 1571: see Harrisse's *notes sur la Nouvelle France*, p. 278), declares that the savages then called this river *Thadoyseau*; while Lalemant (in *Relation* of 1646) says that they called Tadoussac *Sadilege*. Probably these names were indifferently applied, in that early time, alike to river and village. Laverdière derives Saguenay from the Montagnais *saki-nip*, “the rushing water.” See his *Champlain*, pp. 68, 69; also Trumbull, in *Conn. Hist. Colls.*, vol. ii., p. 31.

52 (p. 205).—Now the St. Maurice; named *Trois Rivières*, because two islands at its mouth divide it into three channels. On Creuxius' map (1660), it appears as Metaberoutin River, or Three Rivers; on Duval's (1679), the Rivière de Foix. This last appellation seems to be another form of Riviere du Fouez, given to this river by Cartier.—See *Champlain's Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. i., p. 257. At its mouth is the town of Three Rivers, founded by Champlain in 1634.

53 (p. 205).—The Ottawa River—Champlain's Riuière des Algommequins; see his "Explanation of the Map of New France," in *Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. i., p. 302. Also named, in early days, Rivière des Prairies; so in *Relation* of 1640, *post*, and on Creuxius' map (1660): Faillon (*Col. Fr.*, i., p. 82, note **) says it was thus named from its discoverer, a young sailor from St. Malo; he is mentioned by Champlain as "a very courageous man," in *Voyages* (Paris, 1632), p. 159.

54 (p. 205).—The Chicchack (or Shickshock) Mountains; called Notre-Dame by Champlain and other early writers. A range of highlands in the Gaspé peninsula, the easternmost part of the Appalachian system, forming the watershed between streams flowing into the St. Lawrence and Bay of Chaleurs. They lie about twelve miles from the St. Lawrence, extending a distance of some 65 miles, between the Ste. Anne des Monts and the Matane rivers; they range in height from 3,000 to 4,000 feet.—See Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, vol. i., p. 91; also Laverdière's *Champlain*, p. 1090.

55 (p. 205).—See Laverdière's *Champlain*, p. 179.

56 (p. 205).—*Canadis*, the Indians of the vicinity of Quebec. Lescarbot says (*Nouv. France*, p. 238) that "the tribes of Gachepé and Chaleur bay call themselves Canadocoa, that is, Canadaquois," Sagard (*Canada*, p. 152) mentions a village of Canadians near Tadoussac.

57 (p. 205).—*Algomeguis* (also spelled Algoumequins, Algonmequins, and Algumquins); the Algonquins or Algonkins. Some authors consider this name generic for the Armouchiquois, the Montagnais, the "Petite Nation," the Nation of the Isle, and the Nipissiriniens.—See Martin's edition of Bressani's *Relation Abrégée* (Montreal, 1852), p. 319. Champlain limits this appellation to the tribes that dwell upon the Ottawa.

58 (p. 205).—*Ochasteguis*, according to Laverdière (*Champlain*, pp. 317, 346) called by Champlain *Ochastaiguins* or *Ochatequins*, from the name of one of their chiefs; a name applied to the Hurons. This last appellation was but a nickname of the tribe, which was properly called Wendot or Wyandot. They inhabited the region east of Lake Huron, to Lake Simcoe.

59 (p. 205).—The site of Quebec was first visited by Cartier in 1535, and was then occupied by an Indian village, named Stadacona. The foundation of the present city was laid by Champlain, July 3, 1608; for his chart of Quebec and vicinity (with valuable notes thereon, by the editor), and an engraved illustration of the buildings erected by him, see Laverdière's *Champlain*, pp. 296, 303. Quebec is also written Quebeck, Quebecq (Champlain), and Kebec, Kébec, or Kebek (*Relations*); the word, in various Algonkin dialects, signifies "the narrowing of the water," referring to the contraction of the St. Lawrence, opposite Cape Diamond, to a space of only 1,314 yards; while below, at the confluence of the St. Charles, it spreads into a basin over 2,500 yards in width. See Ferland's *Cours d'Histoire*, vol. i., p. 90; and Parkman's *Pioneers*, p. 329.

The first known mention of this name, to designate the locality of the present city, is in Champlain's *Voyages, ut supra*, p. 89.

60 (p. 205).—See vol. i., note 2.

61 (p. 207).—See notes 32, 33, ante. *Brazilian bean*; the common bean, *Phaseolus vulgaris*, indigenous to America. Called "Brazilian bean," because it resembled a bean then known in France by that name.—*Champlain's Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. ii., p. 64, note.

62 (p. 207).—*Breton*. This name (spelled also Bretton, Briton, *Brittayne*, etc.), was given, at an early date, to the most eastern point of Cape Breton Island, "first seen by some French sailors, who named it either after Bretagne, or from Cape Breton, a town in the election of Landes, in Gascony."—Bourinot (*Canad. Mo.*, vol. vii., p. 292). Cf. Margry's *Navigations Françaises* (Paris, 1867), p. 113. It appears on Verrazano's map (1529). See also Laverdière's *Champlain*, p. 155; and on same page is a quotation from Thévet's *Gr. Insul.* (1556) which mentions "the cape or promontory of Lorraine, so named by us; others have given it the name of *Cape of the Bretons*," etc. The island itself was known, during the 16th century, as Isle du Cap Breton, or Isle des Bretons; Champlain, in *Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. i., p. 280, calls it St. Lawrence; the French named it Isle Royale, upon its cession to them by the treaty of Utrecht (1713); its old name, Cape Breton Island, was resumed in 1758, after the capture of Louisbourg by the English. On Gastaldo's map (1548), the name Breton is applied both to this island and to Nova Scotia. See Dionne's note on Cape Breton (*Nouv. France*, pp. 283-286).

On *La Hève*, see vol. i., note 42. Champlain's chart of the harbor of La Heve is given in Laverdière's *Champlain*, p. 156.

Mouton, probably at Port Mouton; so named, according to Les-carbot, because a drowned sheep came ashore there.—*Nouv. France*, p. 449.

Sable, the most southern point of Nova Scotia, on Cape Sable Island. Champlain says: "The next day we went to Cape Sable, also very dangerous, on account of certain rocks and reefs extending almost a league into the sea."—*Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. ii., p. 13.

St. Louis, thus named by De Monts, but now known as Brant Point; two leagues from Plymouth Harbor, in Massachusetts.

Blanc, so named by Champlain, from its white sands; three years earlier, named Cape Cod, by Gosnold, from the multitude of codfish in its vicinity. It is shown on Juan de la Cosa's map (1500), but without name; on Ribero's (1529), as C. de arenas; on Vallard's (1543), as C. de Croix.

63 (p. 207).—On *Campseau*, see vol. i., note 40.

Sesambre, "an island thus named by some Mallouins, distant 15 leagues from La Héve," says Champlain. Laverdière thus explains the name: "In remembrance of a small island of that name which lies in front of St. Malo. Sésambre became S. Sambre; and the English sailors, who are not greatly devoted to the saints, have called it simply Sambro" (its present name). A cape and harbor near the island bear the same name. Sesambre appears on De Laet's map (1633), as Sesambre; on Bellin's (1744), as Sincembre; but in his *Petit Atlas Maritime* (1764), also on Chabert's map (1746), as St. Cendre. In Champlain's *Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. ii., p. 151, note 263, the island at St. Malo is called Cézembre.

Beaubassin, the present Chignecto Bay; the northern arm at the head of the Bay of Fundy. Blaeu's map (1620), and De Laet's (1633), show it as B. des Gennes; Bellin's (1744), as Chignitou or Beau-bassin.

64 (p. 207).—Sanson's map of Canada (1656) shows Cap de l'Evesque; and Creuxius's (1660), *prom. Episcopi*. Bellin's map of the St. Lawrence River (1761) enables us to identify this point as the present Cape Magdalen, or Magdalaine, west of Cape Rosier. Cf. Laverdière's *Champlain*, p. 116, note; and *Champlain* (Prince Soc.), vol. i., p. 281, note.

Chat, a corruption of *Chaste*, the name of Champlain's early patron. Sieur Aymar de Chaste (Chattes, or Chastes), for many years the governor of Dieppe, distinguished both as soldier and sailor, and a personal friend of Henry IV., had formed at Rouen, under a royal commission, a company to prosecute further explorations in Canada. In March, 1603, he sent Pontgravé and Champlain thither, to select a location for the colony he proposed to establish, and to make other preliminary explorations and arrangements; see Laverdière's *Champlain*, pp. 700-704, and 1090, note. During their absence, De Chaste died (May 13, 1603), and his schemes were soon taken up by De Monts (vol. i., note 2).—See Faillon's *Col. Fr.*, vol.

i., pp. 74-84. An account of De Chaste's voyage to Terceira (whither he was sent in 1583, with a military force by Catherine de Médicis), forms part of Thévenot's *Relations de divers Voyages Curieux* (Paris, 1596), under the heading "Voyage de la Tercere."

65 (p. 209).—Of these five settlements, the first was made in 1535, by Jacques Cartier, at the mouth of the river called by him St. Croix, but afterwards named St. Charles, by the Récollet missionaries, in honor of Charles des Boues, grand vicar of Pontoise.—See Shea's ed. of Le Clercq's *Establishment of the Faith* (N. Y., 1881), p. 149. Those of De Monts, at St. Croix and Port Royal, have been already described by Lescarbot. In regard to the settlement at Quebec, which the text inadvertently mentions as the third, instead of the fourth, it was on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, not the southern, as he says here. The fifth, that of St. Sauveur, is fully described in the present volume.

66 (p. 209).—Pointe St. Croix, now named Point Platon, about 35 miles above Quebec. A small island, not far from this point, was called Ste. Croix Island, up to 1633; after that time, Richelieu, for the great cardinal. As intimated in the text, there has been a difference of opinion as to the place where Cartier spent the winter of 1535-36. Charlevoix (Shea's ed., vol. i., p. 116), claimed that the point mentioned above (Platon) was the St. Croix of Cartier; but Champlain and other authorities have shown that it was, instead, at St. Charles River. See Laverdière's *Champlain*, pp. 90-93, and 304-309; also Faillon's *Col. Fr.* vol. i., pp. 496-499.

67 (p. 209).—Named by Cartier (1535), Island of Bacchus, from the profusion of wild grapes found there. Thévet (*Gr. Insul.*) says it was called by the natives Minigo. Its later name, Isle of Orleans, would seem to have been given by Cartier, during his first sojourn at Quebec. See Laverdière's *Champlain*, p. 88. Le Jeune (*Relation of 1632, post*) mentions it as St. Lawrence Island. It is 20 miles long, and six miles in its greatest width.

68 (p. 211).—Pierre Coton (also written Cotton) was born in 1564, at Neronde, and belonged to a distinguished family of Forez; became a Jesuit priest, and confessor of Henry IV. (see note 7, *ante*, and vol. i., note 39), and afterwards of Louis XIII. This position he resigned about 1618, then spent six years at Rome. Returning to France (1624) as provincial of his order, he died at Paris, March 19, 1626.

69 (p. 217).—*Institutum*, the published collection of the laws regulating the order of Jesuits (official ed., Prague, 1757; new ed., Avignon, 1827-38). For description of this work, see McClintock & Strong's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, vol. iv., pp. 865, 866.

70 (p. 217).—See vol. i., note 2.

71 (p. 221).—De Monts's lieutenant, Pontgravé, who is mentioned by Champlain as Sieur de Pont Gravé, also as Pont. Lescarbott, in *Nouv. France*, calls the lieutenant "du Pont, surnamed Gravé." He was a merchant of St. Malo, interested with Chauvin in the Canada trade, and an intimate friend of Champlain; he made trading voyages to Canada during some thirty years. Concerning his son, see vol. i., *notes* 13, 44. See Dionne's account of Chauvin and his enterprises (*Nouv. France*, pp. 193-212, 318-328); on p. 198, he cites from Bréard some information regarding Pontgravé's family.

72 (p. 221).—Faillon discusses at length the statement of Charlevoix, that Canada was first called New France in 1609; and he brings much evidence, both circumstantial and direct, to show that this appellation was of much earlier date. He considers it highly probable that this name was applied to Canada at least as early as Cartier's first voyage (1534).—See his *Col. Fr.*, vol. i., pp. 511-513. The "Shorte and briefe narration" of Cartier's second voyage, given in Goldsmid's *Hakluyt*, vol. xiii., p. 146, says: "Here endeth the Relation of Iames Cartiers discouery and Nauigation of the Newfoundlands, by him named New France." Biard says (*Relation of 1616, post*): "I believe it was Jean Verazan who was god-father to the title of New France."

73 (p. 225).—Josse, the priest Jessé Fléché; see vol. i., *note* 25.

74 (p. 233).—Probably referring to the anonymous author of the *Factum*; see *post*, *Relation of 1616*, chap. x., and *note* 97, on the *Factum*.

75 (p. 233).—Robin de Coulogne; see vol. i., *notes* 31, 37.

76 (p. 235).—This man, whom Champlain calls Simon Imbert Sandrier, is said by Biard (chap. xx., *post*) to have been formerly a tavern keeper at Paris.

77 (p. 245).—*Chiquebi*, the "MicMac potato," as Bourinot calls it (*Canad. Mo.*, vol. vii., p. 292); the ground-nut, *sgabun* or *segubbun*, in the Micmac tongue. See *note* 35, *ante*; also Trumbull, in *Conn. Hist. Colls.*, vol. ii., p. 26.

78 (p. 247).—Father Jacques Quentin, born in February, 1572, at Abbeville, France; entered the order of Jesuits, June 30, 1604. He was appointed, at the close of his novitiate, professor at Bourges; here and at Rouen he remained three years; and in 1609 he was sent to the college of Eu, as acting superior. Four years later, he went to Acadia. After returning to France he devoted himself to preaching in cities and villages. In 1616, he became a "spiritual coadjutor" in his order—according to Littré, one who publicly takes the three religious vows, but not the fourth, which is to go on whatever mission he may be sent. His death occurred April 18, 1647.—See Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, vol. i., p. 83, *note*.

79 (p. 247).—These colonial experiments were not, for a long time, favorably regarded by the Protestants, or by most Catholics. Sully, minister of Henry IV., says in his *Memoirs* (Bohn's ed., London, 1856), vol. ii., p. 453: "The colony that was sent to Canada this year (1603) was among the number of those things that had not my approbation; there was no kind of riches to be expected from all those countries of the New World which are beyond the fortieth degree of latitude. His majesty gave the conduct of this expedition to the Sieur du Mont."

80 (p. 249).—Louis Hébert, born at Paris, an apothecary, was one of Poutrincourt's colony at Port Royal. In 1617, he returned to Canada with his family, at Champlain's request, as one of the latter's colonists at Quebec. He was the first settler with a family, and the first at Quebec to cultivate the soil as a means of livelihood; and on this account has sometimes been called "the father of Canada,"—an appellation also given, and with even more propriety, to Champlain. His dwelling was the first in Upper Town, and, according to Ferland (*Cours d'Histoire*, vol. i., p. 190), was between the present Ste. Famille and Couillard streets.—Cf. Laverdière's *Champlain*, p. 988. He was in many ways prominent in the early history of the colony. In 1621, he bore the title of "royal procurator." In 1622, he was, according to Champlain, in Tadoussac, acting as commander of De Caen's ship during the latter's temporary absence. In 1626, the fief of St. Joseph, on the river St. Charles, was granted by Ventadour to Hébert, under the title of Sieur d'Espinay. In January, 1627, a fall caused Hébert's death; he was buried in the cemetery of the Récollets, by whom, as well as by Champlain, he seems to have been greatly esteemed.—See Sagard's *Canada*, pp. 590, 591. When Quebec was taken by the English, in 1629, Louis Kirk, at Champlain's solicitation, sent a guard of soldiers to protect the widow Hébert's house, as well as the mission chapels. Many distinguished Canadian families trace their descent from Hébert, as is shown in Tanguay's *Dictionnaire Généalogique* (Montreal, 1871-90), vol. i., p. 301.—Cf. Ferland's *Cours d'Histoire*, vol. i., p. 180, note. His daughter Anne married Stephen Jonquest, in the autumn of 1617—this was the first marriage in Canada according to church rites, and was performed by the Récollet Father Le Caron; she died in 1620. Another daughter, Guillemette, married William Couillard, August 26, 1621; she died in October, 1684. An island in the harbor of Port Royal was named for Hébert, but is now known as Bear Island.

81 (p. 249).—The name given by the natives to the river now called Kenduskeag, apparently a corruption of Kadesquit. It enters the Penobscot near the present city of Bangor, on which site Biard

and Massé had intended to establish their mission.—See *Champlain's Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. i., p. 42.

82 (p. 249).—Frenchman's Bay; see vol. i., note 61.

83 (p. 251).—Nicholas de la Mothe, or de la Motte le Vilin. After his capture by the English, he was among those taken to Virginia, and finally sent back to France. In 1618, he came with Champlain to Canada, where he remained during the following winter.

84 (p. 251).—Champlain says (Laverdière's ed., pp. 61, 1307), that Virginia was at first called Mocosa by the English. Ortelius's map of 1570 shows Mocosa lying southwest of New France; and his second map (1572) names the region south of the St. Lawrence and east of the Richelieu River, Moscosa. Biard (*Relation* of 1616) seems to apply this name to the region of Chesapeake Bay.

85 (p. 253).—A group of islands 25 leagues from St. Sauveur, according to Biard's *Relation* of 1616, *post*; but 16 leagues, according to Champlain (Laverdière's ed., p. 773). Apparently the Matinic or Matinic Islands (also spelled Emmetinic). See also Emmetenic,* on p. 31 of this volume.

86 (p. 253).—Argall's ship was named "Treasurer." Champlain says (Laverdière's ed., p. 773), that ten other English ships were approaching, but without the knowledge of the French; these, however, were probably part of the usual fishing fleet, and not directly under Argall's command.

87 (p. 255).—*English heretic*: Captain Samuel Argall, of Virginia, afterwards governor of that colony (see vol. i., note 63); during the first quarter of the 17th century, prominent as an English naval commander. His mother was married a second time, to Laurence Washington, an ancestor of George Washington. His destruction of the French settlements has been bitterly censured by some writers, as the act of a buccaneer and pirate; but he was commissioned to do this by the Virginia colonial authorities, who afterwards declared that, in the encounter at St. Sauveur, the first shot was fired by the French. A letter was written by Montmorency, admiral of France, to King James of England, October 28, 1613, asking for the release of the Jesuit fathers, and redress for the injuries done to the property of Madame de Guercheville. The Virginia Council, when called to account for Argall's doings, made a spirited reply in his and their own defense; and the English Privy Council refused to make any reparation to Madame de Guercheville, alleging that "her ship entered by force the territory of the said colony [Virginia] to settle there, and to trade without their permission." These documents are given in Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, pp. 573, 664, 665, 725-734. Cf. "Aspinwall Papers," pp. 41-46, in *Mass. Hist. Colls.*, 4th series, vol. ix. The ship, how-

ever, was afterwards restored (see Biard's *Relation of 1616, post*).

88 (p. 259).—This pilot is called Le Bailleur, of Rouen, in Biard's *Relation of 1616*. Charlevoix (Shea's ed., vol. i., pp. 280-281) erroneously confounds him with one Lamets, named by Champlain as among the five who escaped from the ship, but after the pilot had left it on his reconnoitring trip. These men seem to have later joined the pilot, as he had 14 men when he encountered La Saussaye.

89 (p. 261).—See vol. i., *note 66*.

90 (p. 263).—*Orignac*, in the original; see *note 34, ante*.

91 (p. 263).—*Passepec*, shown on Sanson's map (1656), as Paspey; on Bellin's (1744) and D'Anville's (1746), as Paspebiac; named Sheet Harbor on Gesner's (1849).

92 (p. 265).—This allusion is a word-play upon Argall's name—*argali* being an appellation of the wild ram (*Ovis aries*), found in the mountains of Greece, in Corsica, and in the steppes of Tartary.

93 (p. 273).—*Vuallia*; Wales.

94 (p. 275).—Sieur de Buisseaux (also spelled Bisseaux); he also aided Sieur de la Motte to regain his liberty, as Biard narrates in his *Relation of 1616*. In 1617, he was addressed by Raleigh as "member of the Council of State of France."

95 (p. 275).—*Itius Portus*, the place whence Cæsar sailed for Britain; generally identified with Wissant, a village in Pas-du-Calais, ten miles S. W. of Calais. Biard says, however, in the *Relation of 1616*, that it was Calais where they landed.

96 (p. 275).—The modern Amiens occupies the site of the ancient Samarobriva, capital of the Ambiani; hence its name.

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